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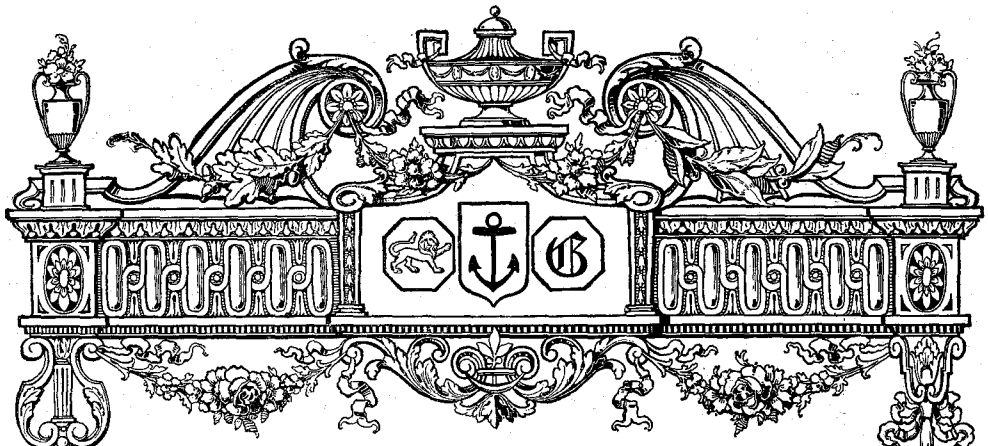

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The Outlook

MAY 21, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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MR. ROOSEVELT IN BERLIN

Mr. Roosevelt's lecture on "The World Movement" before the University of Berlin appeared in full in the issue of The Outlook for last week. It was delivered on Thursday, May 12, in the presence of the Emperor and of a distinguished audience, and the event was regarded throughout Germany as a notable academic occasion. As with his Sorbonne lecture, Mr. Roosevelt interpolated in his written address a few extemporaneous additions, while he introduced it with a special reference to the Emperor, which is thus reported in the press despatches: "Yesterday I attended a session of a great open-air university, and sat at the feet of its most eminent professor. I saw many troops, and I failed to see how any man could watch those soldiers file by and not feel a certain swelling of the heart as he realized that these men from the workshop and plow were physically, morally, and intellectually fit to meet any demand made upon them. I am not in the least afraid of decadence in Germany as long as you breed such men as I saw in the field yesterday." The ancient Aula of the University was crowded with an audience of about twelve hundred persons, including the faculty of the University, the guests, and a comparatively few students. On the platform, in addition to the Emperor and Empress, the Crown Princess, Prince and Princess Eitel Friedrich, Prince and Princess August Wilhelm, Prince Adalbert, Mrs. Roosevelt and her son and daughter, there were seated the American Ambassador, Dr. Hill, with Mrs. Hill, other Ambassadors, members of the Imperial Cabinet, the Senators of the University, and many eminent men, while the heads of the several student corps of the University with drawn swords formed a guard of honor. The Rector of the University, Dr. Schmidt, introduced Mr. Roosevelt with an outline of his personal history and public services. Fears had been entertained that the throat trouble from which Mr. Roosevelt had been suffering would interfere with the delivery of the lecture, but his voice gained steadily in clearness as he proceeded. At the close of the lecture the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Dr. Röthe. On the day preceding the lecture Mr. Roosevelt was present, by the Emperor's invitation, at military maneuvers and a review of twelve thousand picked German troops, and at the end of the review the Emperor, in the presence of his officers, cried out: "My friend Roosevelt, I am glad to welcome you, the most distinguished American citizen. You are the first civilian who has ever reviewed German troops." Mr. Roosevelt and his party are now in London. The delivery of the Romanes Lecture at Oxford, originally fixed for the date of May 13, has been postponed because of the funeral of King Edward, at which Mr. Roosevelt, by President Taft's request, will represent the United States as its special ambassador for that occasion.

THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE V

The new King of England took the royal oath of succession on the day of his father's death, and was formally proclaimed King with the ancient and customary ceremonial two days later—that is, on Monday of last week. The ceremonial in all its picturesque detail was enacted in London first at St. James's

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Palace, and afterwards at Charing Cross, Temple Bar, and the Royal Exchange, while similar proclamation was made in other great cities throughout Great Britain and, although with less of ceremony, throughout the colonies. At St. James's Palace, after the solemn proclamation had been read by the Garter King and after the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, had twice cried "God save the King," the immense crowd took up and repeated the cry, and as the bands of the Guards played the National Hymn the outdoor assemblage sang it reverently and with great volume of sound. At the other places of proclamation similar scenes were witnessed; at Temple Bar the Lord Mayor went through the traditional ceremony of barring the way and admitting the heralds into the City of London only after formal demand and recognition of the City's ancient privileges. In Parliament the nation's grief was expressed eloquently and with deep feeling by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons, and by the Earl of Crewe in the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith said: "In all of these multiform manifestations of our national and imperial life, history will assign a part of particular dignity and authority to the great ruler whom we have lost. In external affairs his powerful personal influence was directed steadily and ceaselessly toward avoiding, not only wars, but the causes and pretexts of wars, and he well earned the title by which he will always be remembered, the Peacemaker of the World." The date fixed for the funeral of Edward VII is Friday of this week, and the attendance of royal personages and distinguished men and women is likely to be almost unexampled. As already stated, President Taft has appointed Mr. Roosevelt a special ambassador to represent the United States at the funeral, and Mr. Roosevelt has accepted the appointment. On Tuesday of this week a great State procession, which will include King George and, it is expected, seven foreign sovereigns, is to convey the body of King Edward to Westminster Hall, where it is to lie in state until the day of the funeral. The accession of King George has brought up, as was the case at the accession of his father, the question of changing certain terms in the coronation oath which have long been regarded as unnecessary and offensive by Roman Catholic subjects. It is urged that it ought to be enough for the King to swear adhesion to the idea of the Protestant succession, and to disclaim any beliefs which would even imply the temporal sovereignty or political authority of the head of any other Church, without being compelled to add denunciation of particular doctrines of any one Church. The present oath not only makes the King profess disbelief in the dogma of transubstantiation, but makes him declare that "the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous." It is true that the King of England is the head of the Church of England, and it is proper that the head of the Established Church should in his coronation oath declare his adhesion to that Church and disavow any possible recognition of another Church's authority; but this is a very different thing, it is said, from denunciation of individual dogmas of one Church. It is known that King Edward disapproved of the oath as it stands. Efforts were made in Parliament after his accession to change it, but the ultra-Protestant spirit is still very strong in England, and the oath remains as it was when framed under difficulties and dangers which do not exist to-day.

GERMAN MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Recently in the Reichstag, the lower house of the German Imperial Parliament, Herr Ledebour, a Socialist, submitted a startling resolution. It demanded that the Imperial Chancellor be made responsible to the Reichstag for his administration. That administration includes participation in all the Emperor's political acts. Herr Ledebour declared that the power of autocratic decision must be taken out of the Sovereign's hands. He even added that no one within the limits of the Court's *entourage*, whatever his talents, can properly supervise important public affairs. The resolution was passed by a substantial majority, which probably would have been larger had the proposer not been a Socialist. It is surprising that such a resolution has not

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been introduced long before this. It is the logical completion of the movement begun a year and a half ago by the agitation following a letter from the Emperor published by the London "Telegraph." In it William II expressed himself with uncommon freedom even for him. The affair made a great stir. At that time Prince von Bülow was Chancellor. He was moved to exclaim that it would be impossible for him or any other Minister to conduct the Government's affairs if the Kaiser insisted on acting in entire independence and irresponsibility. To his credit, the Sovereign with characteristic acuteness grasped the situation. From that time to this he has curbed his public utterances. But a more important event followed. According to official explanation, Prince von Bülow resigned, not because his financial measures failed of passage, but because his health was not equal to the task of dealing with the Reichstag. Doubtless the latter statement was true, but doubtless the Chancellor's political health was also not adequate. In any event, his retirement was significant, because it was the first retirement of a German Chancellor immediately after the Reichstag had rejected a Government bill. That, in our opinion, constitutes a historic event. Then followed something equally significant. The new Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, accepted the finance plan of the Reichstag majority, a plan rejected by his predecessor. Thus the loss of a majority in that body had been followed, not only by a change of Ministers, but by the imposition of the majority's policy on the new Chancellor. And thus, for the first time in Germany, the principle of ministerial responsibility came into practical operation.

WHAT WILL THE KAISER DO?

The principle of ministerial responsibility was given no further emphasis until the introduction of Herr Ledebour's resolution the other day. Its adoption, therefore, constitutes a concrete and specific fact. It is another landmark in German constitutional history. Of course the present resolution does not compel the Reichstag to introduce an act amending the Constitution. The Reichstag cannot make such a change. But it can propose it. The Bundesrath, the German Parliament's upper house, must make the actual enactment. According to the Constitution, amendments shall be made by legislative enactment and shall be considered as rejected if fourteen Bundesrath votes are cast against them. There are fifty-eight votes in the upper house, corresponding to the number of representatives of the States of the German Confederation. Of these votes, Prussia has seventeen. Thus Prussia is in a position to dictate. Moreover, the Prussian representatives in the Bundesrath happen to be directly representative of the will of the Prussian King, who is also German Emperor. Thus, the establishment of responsibility ultimately depends upon that monarch's autocratic will. The question then arises, "Will he favor the Reichstag resolution or will he not?" He must realize that the present system is mediæval. The overpowering personality of the first Chancellor—Bismarck, "the Iron Chancellor"—had much to do with that mediævalism. Such faith had Bismarck in the doctrine of force that half a century ago he defied a majority in the Prussian Parliament, actually declaring that it was not by the resolutions of majorities that the mighty problems of the age were to be solved, but by blood and iron. History seemed to prove the truth of these allegations, for the Danish War, the Austrian War, and the French War, following in quick succession, gave to Germany a hitherto unrealized prestige. Despite these events, the time of blood and iron has passed. The time has come when decisions *are* made by parliamentary majorities, even in Germany, as we have seen in Prince von Bülow's case. The time has come to give a new quality to the patriotism of the people by making the Imperial Chancellor and the Ministers acting under his supervision responsible to the popular body and dependent upon it for tenure of office. To do this, however, there must be some change in the German politico-educational system. Up to the present its tendency has been to engender respect for the insight of the single expert. If we may judge from the Reichstag vote, the people are now ready

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to substitute for this confidence in skilled judgment a trust in the wisdom of majorities. This is the voice of the people as a whole, for the Reichstag members are elected by universal suffrage. They wait for the voice of the various federated governments, particularly for that of Prussia, and most particularly for that of the Prussian King and German Emperor.

THE HOUSE BILL ON INTER-STATE COMMERCE

Greatly changed by amendments, the Inter-State Commerce Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on Tuesday of last week. The vote was 200 to 126. As The Outlook reported last week, the changes were brought about largely by Insurgent Republicans and Democrats; but the passage of the bill was secured by Insurgent and Regular Republicans. In other words, the party responsible for the passage of the bill has not altogether determined its character. As it now stands the bill is in the same form in which it was adopted by the Committee of the Whole. The sections which allowed rate agreements between railways with the approval of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and the acquirement by one railway of the rest of the stock of a competing road in which it already owns a majority of the stock, were stricken from the bill. The provisions creating the Commerce Court, making railways responsible for correctly quoting rates to shippers, and extending the power of the Inter-State Commerce Commission by enabling it to make investigations on its own initiative and to regulate the issues of railway securities, have been retained, though they have been somewhat modified from the original form. New provisions have been added. These bring telephone and telegraph companies under the regulation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, provide for the physical valuation of railways, and prohibit a railway from charging more for a short haul than for a long haul over the same line. This bill, it will be seen, has thus been changed in many respects since it left the hands of the Attorney-General. It has been changed in the Senate also; but there it is still in the process of construction. Starting out in the two houses in identical form as an Administration measure, it has left the House of Representatives in one form and will leave the Senate in another. Then the Senate bill and the House bill will have to be merged in some fashion in conference. Such an essential feature of the bill as the authorization of the Inter-State Commerce Commission to investigate rates without complaint, and to suspend new rates for four months pending investigation, is alone a great advance in rate legislation. We regret that authorization to control rate agreements and mergers is apparently not to be granted to the Commission; but that will be granted some day. On the other hand, we regard the addition of the long-and-short-haul clause, made by the House, to be a distinct contribution. What the outcome will be no one can now tell. It is certain, however, that the country has been led to expect from Congress this year a progressive and effective Inter-State Commerce Law.

WATER POWER: NATIONAL VERSUS STATE CONTROL

Two measures now before Congress strike at the policy of Conservation in a vital spot. As The Outlook has said before, the men who will control the water power of the United States will control American industry. The supplies of coal and other fuels can be exhausted; the water power need never be exhausted, for it is continuously renewed. The question who shall control that source of power is a tremendously important one. Two weeks ago we expressed our strong condemnation of the Smoot bill, which proposes to hand over to the States the lands on the public domain which contain water power sites. This bill has been brought prominently before the public by President Taft in his speech at Passaic last week. He said of it: "This bill is a most important one. It probably needs amendment, but the principle of the bill may work out to a satisfactory solution." The President is right; the bill is an important one. But it is important to the special interests who are anxious to get the water power of the country into their hands. The history of the swamp and overflowed lands, millions of acres of which were turned over to the

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States a generation ago and have since gravitated into the possession of a few big interests, points the warning. But in his other statements we believe the President to be wrong. The bill needs, not amendment, but extinction; for the principle of the bill can never work out to a satisfactory solution. President Taft gives three reasons why the bill is a good one—two positive, the third negative. First, it would be useful to have the control and ownership of the water in the streams, and the control and ownership of the lands essential to the establishment of water power plants, united in one sovereign. The State now has the former; the Nation, in the cases affected by the bill, has the latter. Second, the authorities of the State, presumably more familiar with local conditions, could fix the details on the ground in accordance with local necessity. Third, the rights of the people are safeguarded by the provision that if the State does not enforce conditions providing for reasonable rates and against monopoly, the United States may regain possession of the land through the courts. To these propositions we would reply: First, it would be useful to have the control of the land and the water in one sovereign, but since that one sovereign cannot be the Nation (for the States cannot be expected to give up their control of the water), it would be much better to leave the control divided as it is now. If the Nation allows the ownership of the land to pass into other hands, it cannot regain it; if the Nation retains the ownership, it can develop a consistent, uniform, and wise policy for the development of the water power. The land now belongs to the whole American people, and there is no reason why it should be given over to a part of the people. Second, familiarity with local conditions and sensitiveness to local necessities too often operate to the neglecting of broad National conditions and the necessities of the whole people. Third, provisions that control which has once been given up shall be reasserted, if certain conditions are not complied with, are notoriously difficult of enforcement. It is highly improbable that control once given up by the Nation could be, to any large extent, regained, even under the provisions of the Smoot bill. The conservation of those natural resources which still remain in the ownership of the Nation is one of the most important duties of the Federal Government as trustee for the American people. The way to secure that conservation is not by attempting to shift that duty to the States, but by adopting a broad and wise policy in which the public interest shall be paramount.

WATER POWER: PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE INTERESTS

The other measure repugnant to the principles of Conservation is a bill which has been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Commerce authorizing the construction of a dam across the James River in Missouri for the creation of electric power. The bill, which was introduced by Senator Stone, is identical with a bill passed by Congress year before last and vetoed by President Roosevelt. The bill was vetoed by him because it "gives to the grantee a valuable privilege, which by its very nature is monopolistic, and does not contain the conditions essential to protect the public interest." Mr. Roosevelt's action was in accord with a definite policy which he had deliberately adopted and had expressed several times. In a special Message to Congress in February, 1908, he wrote: "Through lack of foresight we have formed the habit of granting without compensation extremely valuable rights, amounting to monopolies, on navigable streams and on the public domain. . . . No rights involving water power should be granted to any corporation in perpetuity, but only for a length of time sufficient to allow them to conduct their business profitably. A reasonable charge should, of course, be made for valuable rights and privileges which they obtain from the National Government." And in a letter to the Senate Committee on Commerce, in March, 1908, he said: "I have decided to sign no bills hereafter which do not provide specifically for the right to fix and make a charge, and for a definite limitation in time of the rights conferred." The James River Dam Bill did not then, and does not now, contain any provision whatever for these purposes. Therefore, as it ought to have been and was vetoed then, it ought not to pass Congress now, or, if it does pass Congress, it ought

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to be vetoed again. Conservation means not giving away to private interests valuable rights which belong to the whole people without compensation to the whole people from those interests. The Nation owns and controls the navigable waters of the country. It should not grant valuable privileges on those navigable waters without an adequate return, and an effective provision for control. The right of the Government to demand payment for such privileges when granted by it is questioned by the sponsors for this bill and by the members of the National Waterways Commission. But, as President Roosevelt said in his veto message: "When the public welfare is involved, Congress should resolve any reasonable doubt as to its legislative power in favor of the people and against the seekers for a special privilege." If Congress believes in this principle, it will not pass the James River Dam Bill.

SECRETARY BALLINGER CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. BRANDEIS

Secretary Ballinger has at last been subjected to cross-examination before the Joint Committee chosen by Congress to investigate his department and the Forestry Service. He has been subjected to the relentless questioning of Mr. Brandeis, who is counsel for Mr. L. R. Glavis, the official discharged for insubordination against Mr. Ballinger. It is evident that the cross-examination has been something more than the interrogation of a witness by a lawyer; it has been a struggle between two lawyers; it has been the effort of an accuser to bring the accused into difficulties and the effort of the accused to avoid them. Although occasionally there has been objection made to the mode of questioning on the ground that it did not comport with the usual rules of a court of law, there has been no indication of the presence of what is essential to a court—a judicial bench. The Committee has throughout been, as a whole, a body of bi-partisan spectators. In consequence, many of Mr. Ballinger's answers have been unresponsive, and some of them have developed into speeches addressed to the Committee. Under the fire of Mr. Brandeis's questions, Secretary Ballinger has not always found it possible to maintain his composure. He has been drawn into several exhibitions of anger; he frequently avoided giving direct replies; and once or twice he flatly refused to answer. At the beginning Mr. Brandeis made a rather unexpected attack. He asked Secretary Ballinger concerning the appointment of men to certain places in the Land Office, and drew from the Secretary the information that these places were excepted from the usual requirements of competitive examination, and were made for the purpose of securing certain experts, as coal and mineral experts. He then called Secretary Ballinger's attention to a letter the Secretary had written directing that in making appointments for these places, so far as they were not filled by suggestion of the President, his subordinate should consult not only the President but also Postmaster-General Hitchcock. Inasmuch as Secretary Ballinger had been very insistent that he could find no statutory authority for the supervisory power to withdraw public lands in the interest of the public, Mr. Brandeis asked him, with disconcerting irony, if he or his legal advisers had found any acts of Congress which gave supervisory power over appointments in the Interior Department to the Postmaster-General. Secretary Ballinger first said that he understood that some of these positions were political appointments, then denied that he followed "any act in the matter of appointment that was based upon political consideration," and finally refused to give any definite reason for wanting the Postmaster-General's opinion. In his refusal he was sustained by a close vote in the Committee, in which Messrs. McCall and Madison, Republicans, voted with the Democrats in demanding an answer. This episode, apparently not important, revealed the identity of political interests to be found in the Committee and in the Department which it is investigating. On a later occasion, when Secretary Ballinger appealed to be protected against what he called the "continued imputations" of counsel, he found the Committee unmoved. This time, however, there was a difference: the ground of his appeal was not political but personal. So the cross-examination pro-

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ceeded, Mr. Brandeis trying to secure from the witness definite answers, and Mr. Ballinger making time and again generalized statements instead of specific replies. After repeated questioning Mr. Ballinger on occasions did give a definite reply. For example, Mr. Brandeis asked what Mr. Lawler, an Assistant Attorney-General, took with him on a journey to see the President. "A grip with some clothes in it," answered Secretary Ballinger. "I do not know what else he took." Then, after questions, the Secretary acknowledged that he knew Mr. Lawler had some other things, some records—some records in the Glavis-Pinchot case—some memoranda. Then he acknowledged that, as the records had already gone in, what Mr. Lawler took was some memoranda he had prepared. Then he acknowledged that it was a memorandum covering a résumé of the case; then that it had been prepared with the assistance of others. Then, when he was closely questioned, Secretary Ballinger acknowledged that he had himself gone over the memorandum. Inasmuch as this memorandum was a résumé of Mr. Ballinger's own side of the case in answer to the charges Mr. Glavis had brought to the President, it was really of more consequence to the Investigating Committee than the "grip with some clothes in it." Secretary Ballinger repeatedly, when questioned about a letter or telegram that he had signed, said that it was initiated by some subordinate and then brought to him, the Secretary, for signature. In one case, however, when he made that answer, and then was confronted with the original in his own handwriting, he declared with some show of excitement that he accepted responsibility for the telegram itself. Very often, after Mr. Ballinger had made a long statement, the question would have to be put again in another form or repeated literally by the stenographic reporter, because it had not been answered.

SOME FACTS AS THEY STAND

In view of the manner of Secretary Ballinger's answers to Mr. Brandeis's questions, it is not easy to say just what he meant to state on cross-examination. If at one time he made a statement that seemed to be clear, he would at another time make a statement that showed either that he had forgotten what he had said before, or that he had understood by it something quite different from what the ordinary person would understand by it. He did not, therefore, on the one hand, clearly make many admissions of error or misstatement, or, on the other, correct many impressions that had been created by testimony unfavorable to him. It became evident on cross-examination that Secretary Ballinger was well acquainted with a number of claimants to coal lands in Alaska known as the Cunningham group. Particularly Secretary Ballinger made it clear that he was on good terms with two or three of the more prominent men among them. He denied with feeling that any acquaintance he might have with them influenced his action as Commissioner of the Land Office in having their claims clear-listed for patent. He minimized the service which Glavis, the head of the field division, and Jones, a field agent, did in securing information about these claims, and went so far as to deny that after he had clear-listed the claims for patent he had canceled the order for clear-listing on account of any question which Mr. Glavis had raised; and yet he could point to no reason for the cancellation of that order, an act which prevented these lands from falling into the hands of a syndicate, except the telegram and letter of Mr. Glavis. He was asked to explain coincidences between actions of Cunningham claimants and corresponding actions by the Land Office apparently favorable to the claimants, and especially coincidences connected with telegraphic communication between himself and one of the claimants (telegraphic communication which he could not ascribe to a subordinate), but he could give no explanation. He stated, in answer to questions, that Mr. Glavis had done a hard task considerately in going to him directly with his fears about the danger to public lands in Alaska. When questioned about one particular phase of this, however, he failed to show convincingly that Mr. Glavis did not also have a good share in bringing a knowledge of this danger to the Attorney-General. Indeed, it was the attempt of Mr. Glavis, after finding Mr. Ballinger unresponsive, to appeal to the

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Attorney-General and the President that evidently did most to arouse Mr. Ballinger to indignation on the stand and to express resentment at what he called aspersions on his character. He acknowledged that he took considerable pains, involving some journeying, to put his answer to Mr. Glavis's so-called charges before the President, and that he himself had a hand in preparing the counter-statements that reflected on Mr. Glavis; and at the same time that he had made no effort to give Mr. Glavis a chance to know what these counter-charges against him were. He could not point to anything which showed that he had anything against Mr. Glavis until he heard that Mr. Glavis had appealed to the President. In connection with this fact a letter was elicited from the Attorney-General, stating that the Attorney-General's opinion against Mr. Glavis was delivered orally to the President, then put into writing and amplified to a long summary and report, and when finally prepared was dated back to the day of the oral delivery of the opinion, although in the meantime the President had taken action. Secretary Ballinger could not make it clear what he meant when he said that the Cale bill, in favor of which he appeared before a Congressional committee, would not benefit the Cunningham claimants, and that in appearing before that committee he did not have these claimants in mind. The fact uncontradicted is that these claimants themselves regarded this bill as beneficial to themselves, and Secretary Ballinger himself interpreted the bill so as to make it clear that in one way or another it would be advantageous to these claims; and another fact which he could not deny was that he had instructed a field agent to get information regarding coal entries for him to use in his appearance before this committee, and that these were the only coal entries in existence in Alaska at that time, and that three days before that he was in communication with a representative of the Cunningham claimants. Secretary Ballinger, moreover, gave several explanations for being attorney and counsel for these same claimants, but nothing that he said was in actual contradiction to the statement that he was their counsel and attorney. He explained that it was only for a land claim, that he had only a small fee and really acted as a matter of accommodation for these very well-to-do men, and that he did not legally "appear" on their behalf. He advised them and represented them in legal matters, but he did not wish it said that he was their legal adviser or representative. He was very indignant at the idea that in the list of documents to justify his course which had been laid before the President there had been any selection, and yet in several cases he could give no other answer to the question why a certain letter or telegram or statement of fact was withheld than that in his opinion it was not material, although, as Mr. Brandeis pointed out, Mr. Glavis might have thought it was very decidedly material. In this instance, as in a great number of instances, Mr. Ballinger protested that he was not familiar with the contents or even the existence of letters and telegrams he had signed, and he referred matters regarding them to his subordinates. Secretary Ballinger was not able to state that the President was not mistaken in some respects in his public announcement of what he understood to be the facts in connection with his decision to dismiss Mr. Glavis and to exonerate Mr. Ballinger.

THE CO-OPERATIVE AGREEMENT

One subject that has been much beclouded by the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy is the co-operative agreement. Under President Roosevelt the executive departments of the Federal Government were encouraged to work in harmony. Instead of the traditional red tape and wasteful independence, there grew up a habit of mutual helpfulness and economical interchange of advice and service between bureaus and departments. This was notably true of the Indian Office and the Forest Service. The Indian Office, which is a bureau in the Department of the Interior, has charge of the Indian tribes that are under the care of the Nation. The Forest Service, which is a bureau in the Department of Agriculture, has the care of the forests belonging to the Nation. Now, it happens that on the Indian reservations there are great stretches of forest lands. It seemed wise that the Indian Office should make

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an arrangement with the Forest Service so that the Indians might have the benefit of the expert knowledge of the Forestry officials. For several years there was more or less formal co-operation, and finally, in January, 1908, there was drawn up between these two bureaus what was known as the Co-operative Agreement. According to this formal agreement, certain trained men were to be paid by the Indian Office to take care of certain forests on Indian lands, but were to work under the supervision of the Forest Service. In this way the special knowledge concerning forestry which was at the service of the Government would be, it was supposed, still better than ever put to the use of the Indians. For over a year this plan was tried. Early in the present Adminstration this agreement was abrogated by the Interior Department. There had been a Comptroller's decision some months before which declared illegal the transfer of a clerk under this agreement, but which, it is plain, did not show the agreement to be illegal as a whole. Nevertheless, there seemed to be doubt about its legal and administrative justification. When the abrogation of the agreement was announced, Mr. Pinchot, the Forester, made a report in which he laid the blame for certain failures in foresting Indian lands on the Interior Department. This report was introduced into the record of the testimony before the Pinchot-Ballinger investigating committee. Recently there has been introduced into the record by Secretary Ballinger a full report of the facts regarding one reservation. These show that under the co-operative agreement the Forest Service put in charge of one of the most important Indian forests (on the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin) a young man who was not adaptable to the particular work he had to do. With commendable zeal, he undertook operations some of which might possibly have been successful if carried out by a big, resourceful corporation, but which as a whole were entirely unsuited to the circumstances of an Indian tribe. He was not experienced in practical work. Moreover, he was in part hampered by a law the wisdom of which has been called in question, and perhaps by other special difficulties. After more than a year and a half he had not "made good," as the saying is, and his resignation was accepted. It is not altogether surprising that this young official of the Forest Service, after a trial of nineteen months in an enormous undertaking, could show only a loss. However excusable or explicable his failure was, it bore none the less heavily on the Menominee Indians. Moreover, there was undoubted wastefulness which, it is believed, was inexcusable. The cold facts point to subordinates in the Forest Service as immediately responsible; but as the Indian Office is charged with Indian affairs, the responsibility was in fact divided between the Indian Office and the Forest Service. The men who were directing matters were of the Forest Service; the money was the money of the Indian Office. Neither bureau was really in authority over the other. There was no way by which the Forest Service could be held accountable for waste of funds; there was no way by which the Indian Office could be held accountable for the mistakes in the field. These facts indicate that such an agreement, by which one bureau delegates power to another but retains responsibility, is not practicable as a permanent arrangement. The abandonment of this particular arrangement does not, however, mean the abandonment of co-operation between the two bureaus. There is no reason why the Indian Office and the Forest Service should not co-operate in foresting Indian lands. In fact, they do.

A GOOD STROKE FOR DECENCY

Mayor Gaynor has an admirable habit of reaching desirable ends by short cuts along the paths of practical common sense and native ingenuity. Last week he put a stop to the performance of an indecent play at one of the New York theaters. His attention was called to the character of the play by several persons, and, after reading the manuscript of the play himself, he directed the Police Commissioner to take action. By a fortunate coincidence, the license of the theater had just expired, and the simple device was adopted of refusing to renew the license until assurances were given that the play would be taken off. The theater was closed on Saturday night, and on Tuesday

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the Mayor wrote to Commissioner Baker: "Please do not renew the license until you consult with me, and we get some guarantee of future decency. The people of this city have had enough of false and nasty theaters, as well as of the few false and nasty newspapers, and we want to drop them." The play was a farce translated from the French, and was described by the press of the city as "stupid," "inanely vulgar," "vulgar, indecent, and coarse." In putting an end to its malodorous career Mayor Gaynor has performed a great public service. We do not want in this country a censorship like that which in London prevented the presentation of such a drama as Maeterlinck's "Monna Vanna." But we do need some strong hand to bring to their senses or put out of business those few theatrical managers who pander to the depraved taste of a small section of the theater-going public.

A PIONEER OF PEACE

Elihu Burritt, whose centenary was observed last week in New Britain, Connecticut, was tersely described in an address by Mr. James Brown Scott, Solicitor-General of the State Department, as "a blacksmith by trade, a student by instinct, a scholar by attainment, a benefactor and philanthropist by profession." It is not because he was "the learned blacksmith" that his memory is so worthy of honor, but because he was a man of high ideals for which he worked in practical ways. It was most peculiarly fitting that the memorial exercises should largely consist of special sessions of the New England Arbitration and Peace Conference, the members of which came in a body from Hartford for the purpose. Seventy years ago international peace seemed a dream of the future, but to-day no one can call extreme, unreasonable, or impossible Burritt's proposal, which, as outlined by Mr. Scott, was simply the establishment of a congress of nations to give the law, and a court of nations to interpret the law codified or created by the congress of nations, whereby international controversies might peaceably be settled by the principles of justice without resort to force. These ideas Elihu Burritt urged before five universal peace congresses, the first held in 1849. He has been rightly called an international man, a citizen of the world in the best sense. New Britain honored him with school parades, and a procession of floats representing scenes in his life and historical events in the fight for international peace; and there was an international tribute at his grave. Exercises were also held at the little chapel which Elihu Burritt built with his own hands that men of all creeds might have a place in which to worship without cost. Blacksmith, linguist, editor, author, storekeeper, advocate of peace, hater of slavery, promoter of religion, Government official—his life was busy, useful, and unselfish. The sessions of the Hartford Conference were, in the main, devoted to protest against the universally acknowledged waste and cost of war, but were not notable for practical suggestions toward feasible methods of reaching the end we all desire. President Taft was praised, in the resolutions adopted, for his "recent condemnation of the mischievous reservation from arbitration in most treaties of so-called questions of honor," and the resolutions also "register gratitude to Mr. Roosevelt for his recent conspicuous declaration that with sincerity of purpose the great Powers could surely reach some agreement which will put an end to the present extravagance in naval armament." An interesting feature of the Conference was the session devoted to speeches by labor leaders showing, as it was phrased, why the workingman is not a gun-man.

THE LAYMEN'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Here is a new sort of missionary meeting: limited to men; ministers in the minority; leading business men in front and filling the ranks; uncomfortable truths voiced by men who know the facts; a great chart staring one in the face, whereon he sees his denomination compared with others in the matter of contributions to missions; no attractions but the great cause itself; the delegates furnishing the music and asked to pay a considerable fee for attending. And yet twenty-two hundred men paid two dollars apiece to attend the Chicago Convention, April 29 to May 3, and three thousand men paid five dollars apiece to attend the National Congress of Missions which

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followed immediately in the same city. One felt, as he entered the hall just before the meeting of the Chicago Convention, a suspicion that this might be only an attempt to fan the dying flame of missionary romanticism. Some of the mottoes on the walls seemed perfervid, notably the watchword, "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." But such suspicions disappeared as the meetings moved on. Here were no tricks of statistics, no worn-out pleas, no artificial stimulus for jaded emotions. Everywhere one caught the impression of strength, steadiness, and loyalty to fact. Men who "did not believe in Foreign Missions" went away with a new light, not victims of momentary enthusiasm, but with a reasoned conviction that the work of missions is a thing not of dreams but of life. There were great addresses, three of them at the opening session by Secretary Campbell White, Bishop Anderson of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, and the Rev. Willis R. Hotchkiss. Almost or quite as strong were the later meetings. Splendid types of the men the Church sends to foreign lands were seen and heard. One caught the dramatic character of the work in Korea from W. N. Blair; the far-reaching and constructive aims of the Churchmen in China from Arthur M. Sherman and Isaac T. Headland; the tense conflict of Christianity with Oriental traditions in India from George Sherwood Eddy; while Mornay Williams impressed by himself no less than by his words the great fact that the work at home gains, not loses, when the work in other lands is advanced. At the closing session reports came from the various denominations of the Protestant Church in Chicago. Instead of $163,000 contributed during the year covered by the latest available reports, Chicago pledged $275,000 the coming year, resolving, moreover, to maintain the executive office to push the campaign.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MISSIONS

As the Chicago Convention in Orchestra Hall closed, the National Congress opened in the Auditorium, the climax of this extraordinary movement, a series of meetings unique in recent Church history, hardly paralleled in any age. It means a great deal to have two thousand men, most of them business men, gather at ten o'clock of a business day to discuss Foreign Missions. The attendance at the evening sessions climbed to four thousand; but more significant was the attendance in business hours. The opening address of the Congress was worthy of its place. Other addresses interpreted the movement and its phases, such as its relation to benevolence, its significance as a religious phenomenon, its practical fruits. But the stirring, significant thing was not any or all of the addresses, but the throng of men and the spirit among them. The whole was greater than the sum of its parts. One felt and rejoiced in the reality, the solidity, the enthusiasm that was not fanaticism, the breadth that was not vagueness, the faith that kept its eyes on the stars and its feet on the ground. "A vision without a task makes a visionary; a task without a vision makes a drudge," said President Mullins. One felt that a mass of American Churchmen have determined that Foreign Missions shall no longer be a dream of visionaries, or a piece of Church drudgery; but an instance of that practical idealism which the heart of our age loves. Extreme, but not excessive—that is the spirit of this movement. It urges the extreme of Church unity; yet it advocates the loyalty of each man to his own denominational work. "This is the first time," said the representative of the Lutheran churches publicly, "that the Lutheran churches have come into a union church movement." The secret is the coupling of the great truth of unity of spirit with a practical recognition of the fact of division in operation.

A THEOLOGICAL MARE'S NEST

The old First Church in New Haven, Connecticut, locally known as the Center Church, is not "to become a club," is not in "drift from sane orthodoxy" to "theological suicide, spiritual languor, and ethical collapse." The only cause for such calumny is a garbled press despatch, inflated by an unscrupulous editor oblivious of the Ninth Commandment. The facts are worthy of imitation, and are therefore recorded here. The First Church, founded in 1639, and the Dav-

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enport Church, dating from 1862, having about four hundred members each, are about to unite. When the union takes place, their articles of religion are to be placed on the records of the First Church as an expression of the historic beliefs of the two churches. Furthermore, the forms hitherto used for the admission of members are to be superseded by a new form to be recommended by the pastors and deacons. This new form is still under advisement, and has not yet been published. Its general character, however, has been determined, and this is now of public interest. In substance it is the revival of the form common to all the early churches of New England, from the date of their planting in Massachusetts and Connecticut down to the latter half of the eighteenth century, when theological creeds were introduced to fence out non-orthodox beliefs. A specimen of that primitive form may be read to-day on a memorial window in the First Church of Boston, founded in 1632. It is a declaration of a religious purpose of discipleship to Christ. For return to this ancient usage there was a morally compelling reason. Men and women of Christian character were found to be hindered from union with the church by scruples at some dogmatic statements of the creed which required their assent. Persons who would have been received without question during the first century and a half of the church's life were thus barred out. That such persons would have been received without question in the Apostolic churches, as they are now received in evangelical churches of several denominations, is undeniable. That the revival of the earlier usage of the church involved the elimination of the Apostles' Creed seems to have given rise to the preposterous charge of apostasy from Christian faith, whereas that formula had never been used in the First Church till 1884. Other New Haven churches which had used it for a while have disused it during the last five or ten years without causing any such stir as has now been made. The fundamental issue raised by the false accuser of his Christian brethren is one for all precisians to ponder. Can any supposed theological interest justify any requirement for Christian fellowship more than the words of Jesus himself prescribe, "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother"?

THE BOY SCOUTS OF ENGLAND

The very name of "scout" has an unfailing attraction for the boy mind, and that fact may be an element in the success of the Boy Scouts in England. Another is probably the leadership in the movement of the great popular hero of the Boer War, Lieutenant-General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell, affectionately known throughout the British Empire as "B. P." In two years "B. P." has built up an organization of three hundred thousand boys, drawn from all classes of society. They are banded together, not for military service, but for training that will make them not only good scouts and keen observers but self-reliant, efficient, chivalrous citizens. A writer in the "Youth's Companion" describes them:

It is almost impossible now for any one to take a walk in England without encountering groups of boys dressed in the fashion of frontiersmen, with soft, low-crowned, wide-brimmed hats, loose blue flannel shirts, knee-breeches, and stout shoes and stockings. Each carries a knapsack and a staff. Each who has passed a satisfactory examination wears a badge shaped as an arrow-head, and inscribed, "Be Prepared," which means that the wearer must always be ready to do his duty to his country and his fellow-man. A bit of string tied to it may seem insignificant to you, but to him it is a symbol of his obligation to let no day pass without a kindly service to somebody. Should you point to the badge and ask him about it, he would call it his "life," and explain that it is given to him as a token that if by any negligence or cowardice he fails in his duty it can be taken away from him—for "life" to him is honor.

The boys stride nimbly along at a good pace, erect, yet supple in bearing, keen of eye and intelligent, vigilant and full of purpose. . . .

Perhaps you find them encamped on one of those verdurous commons which are so often seen in England, or you may be surprised to find them crawling on all fours through the gorse and bracken of a moor, or in the undergrowth of some dark wood, following the *spoor*, or trail, of some vehicle, animal, or man. They follow signs that you, unless you are trained, cannot see, and between themselves they have secret methods of communication which serve even in the dark, like bits of twigs arranged in various designs on the ground. They track animals and birds, but do not kill them except for

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food. You see them separate now and then, and, with a distance between them, they signal by the wigwagging of flags, according to the code used in the army and the navy; or one division is ambuscaded by another in some thicket, and captured and led blindfolded to headquarters.

There are two classes of scouts. In order to become a second-class scout a boy must be able to do the following things:

1. Tie four of the following knots in less than thirty seconds each knot: bowline, fisherman's bend, reef knot, clove hitch, sheet bend.

2. Track a deer's *spoor* or a horse's track for a quarter of a mile in not more than fifteen minutes; or, in a town, describe satisfactorily the contents of one shop window out of four observed for one minute each.

3. Go at scout's pace for one mile in not more than thirteen minutes.

4. Know the scout's law and signs.

To become a first-class scout, a boy must pass the following tests in addition to those described above:

1. Point out the direction of different points of the compass from where he stands.

2. Make a journey alone of not less than fifteen miles from point to point by walking, riding, boat, or bicycle.

3. Describe or show the proper means for saving life in case of one—selected by the court—of the following accidents: fire, drowning, runaway horses, sewer-gas, breaking ice; or bandage an injured patient, or revive apparently drowned persons.

4. Be able to read and write.

5. Have at least something in the savings bank.

6. Show that he has brought a recruit to the Boy Scouts, and has taught him to tie the principal knots.

7. Lay and light a fire, using not more than two matches, and cook a quarter of a pound of flour and two potatoes without cooking utensils.

These rules give an excellent idea of the activities of the Boy Scouts, and suggest graphically why the organization has grown so rapidly and is wholesomely absorbing the interest of so many English boys. But, in addition to these requirements which tend to make them alert, healthy, observant, capable boys, there are other rules which tend to make them chivalrous and self-sacrificing citizens. The Scout Law ordains obedience to the King, his officers, the scout's employers, his parents, and his scout masters; kindness to animals; courtesy and helpfulness to women, children, and infirm people, and to any one in distress. The scout must not take a reward for any kindness or service that he may have done. This last requirement is especially important, and may have some interesting effect upon the tipping system which, in a country like England, is well-nigh universal. A class of boys growing up all over the country to whom the acceptance of a tip is "a thing no fellow would do" might well before many years have far-reaching results. The Boy Scout movement is a most interesting and admirable one for the training of the youth of a country.

THE SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN STUDENT INTERCHANGE

Mr. Roosevelt's recent visit to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden lends special interest to the Scandinavian-American educational interchanges. As is well known, the professorial interchange begun between France and America and Germany and America was, two years ago, successfully imitated by a Scandinavian-American professorial interchange. This in turn was followed by a Scandinavian-American student exchange. When, a year and a half ago, a Danish student was brought from the Technical Institute of Copenhagen to the Carnegie Technical Schools in Pittsburgh, Mr. Carnegie himself became interested in the plan. In consequence, the Technical Schools invited the American-Scandinavian Society to send to them one student from each Scandinavian country for the next year. There were many applicants. In Norway the applications were submitted to the Society of Architects and Engineers for nominations. The other students came in the same manner, and are now at work in Pittsburgh, where, fortunately, there is a Swedish-American in the faculty, Professor Martin Hokanson. Harvard, Yale, and Columbia Universities, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in their sympathy with the above plan, have now voted that for a period of ten years exemption from regular tuition

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fees may be granted to advanced students from Scandinavian universities, not exceeding three students in any year, who may be nominated by their respective universities and recommended by the American-Scandinavian Society. This enlarged student interchange will, we do not doubt, do much, not only towards enabling certain young men to add to their education the best that America and Scandinavia can give, but also to establish a more distinctly co-operative effort between America and the Scandinavian nations towards the maintenance of international good will.

THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The death of Edward VII and the accession of George V will give one advantage to the English people: it will probably postpone for a time the Constitutional question which President Lowell so admirably defines in his article on another page, and give them time and patience to consider it in a spirit not wholly partisan. For it is hardly possible that the leaders of either of the two parties will insist on vexing the first months of the new King's reign with a problem as serious as has confronted the English nation since the days of the Restoration.

Let us here restate that problem and the solutions that have been proffered.

The trouble with the House of Lords is not so much that it is composed of hereditary legislators who are also representatives of an aristocracy and of the landowning class (although in these particulars, from the democratic point of view, the House might well be reformed), as that it is continuously and immutably an instrument of one political party—the Conservative. The result is that when the Conservative party is in power in the House of Commons and the Cabinet, England has practically a one-chamber legislature; and the Cabinet, backed by the majority in the House of Commons, can pass any legislation upon which its members, as party leaders, are agreed. When the Liberals are in power, the Cabinet, with the majority in the House of Commons, can pass only such legislation as the Conservative party does not wish to make a party measure, or such legislation as the Cabinet is willing to appeal upon to the country at a general election.

It is this aspect of the House of Lords which has aroused the antagonism of one of the two great political parties in England, and of two other small but proportionately strong ones. This aspect of the House of Lords is, in fact, the crux of the whole situation. No reform which does not at least in some appreciable degree alter this condition will meet the situation.

How can this unsatisfactory and inequitable condition be amended?

The House of Lords has already adopted Lord Rosebery's resolutions, which lay down the principle that "possession of a peerage shall no longer in itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords." This may mean much, little, or nothing. The effectiveness of the principle, in accomplishing the result described above, would entirely depend upon "the application of it." Two years ago a committee of the House of Lords under Lord Rosebery's chairmanship proposed a scheme for the reform of the House of Lords which embodied this principle. Under this plan the new House of Lords would be composed of four main classes:

1. Those hereditary peers who are "qualified" by having held certain offices, such as Cabinet Minister, Viceroy of India, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Speaker of the House of Commons, Vice-Admiral, etc., etc., and hereditary peers who have served for twenty years in the Commons (or ten years in some cases). The committee calculated that about one hundred and thirty peers were thus "qualified," but this number has since increased.

2. Two hundred hereditary peers elected for each Parliament by their fellow-peers, as is now done in the case of the Scottish and Irish peerages, the election to be by the cumulative vote or some other method to secure minority representation.

3. Life peers created by the Crown at the rate of not more than four in any one year, and not more than forty in all. Only one to be created in any year who was not duly "qualified" by office.

4. Spiritual lords to the number of ten.

Thus constituted, the House of Lords

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would be composed of four hundred members, of whom considerably more than three hundred would be hereditary peers. It is obvious that the Conservative complexion of the House at present existing would not be seriously altered under this plan.

Another plan is that suggested as a modification of the scheme of Lord Rosebery's committee by W. S. McKechnie, in his volume on "The Reform of the House of Lords." It provides that the House of Lords shall be made up of two classes of members: (1) Two hundred hereditary peers selected by their fellow-peers; (2) two hundred life peers created by the Crown at the rate of not more than ten per year.

Both these schemes leave the House of Lords in possession of a practical veto power, but propose to modify the character of the House of Lords so as to make it more amenable to popular sentiment. But neither of them would really have the effect of giving it a truly representative character. It would still be almost of necessity a Conservative body in the party or political meaning of that word.

Mr. Asquith's plan does not propose any change in the House of Lords, but only a change in its power. It proposes that a Cabinet shall be enabled to enact legislation for which it can preserve a majority in the House of Commons through three sessions of Parliament, covering not less than two years. This, of course, would not put the Liberal party on an absolute equality with the Conservative party, because the latter can pass legislation without delay, while the former would be able to pass it only after two years' time. The Asquith proposition is, in effect, that since under present conditions there is a one-chamber Parliament half the time (when the Conservatives are in power), it will be more equitable and democratic to have a one-chamber Parliament all the time.

It is not the function of Americans to attempt a solution of English problems. We have enough of our own. But in the interest of world-democracy we may express the hope that Englishmen will find a way to make the English Parliament a more truly two-chambered body than it is now, not less so. A more definite plan for this purpose is proposed by Frederic Harrison in the "English Review." Under his plan the House of Lords would have three classes of members: (1) fifty hereditary peers elected by their fellow-peers; (2) fifty life peers created by the Crown at the rate of not more than ten per year; (3) two hundred members elected by the County Councils. This would insure a hundred members, most of whom would be almost certainly Conservative; but it would also insure two hundred members who might be either Conservative or Liberal. Under such a system the House of Lords might change politically; but, like our Senate, a change would necessarily be more gradual than changes in the House of Commons.

We hope that the English people will work out a plan along some such line as this. They ought to be able in this way to avoid the objections to the plans proposed by Lord Rosebery truly and effectively stated by President Lowell.

LEGISLATION BY PARLIAMENTARY CONDITION

The great difficulty in respect to the matter is that if the bill is reported from the committee and put upon its passage in the House there will be a movement to introduce amendments in accord with the recommendations of the Federation of Labor by which a jury trial shall be required in contempt cases and boycotts shall be made legitimate. It is feared that if such amendments were proposed they might pass and thus make the bill an obnoxious one. Whether a parliamentary condition can be created which will prevent the submission of such amendments or not is a question that I cannot anticipate.

This is the statement, not of a party leader in Congress in charge of a bill which he is trying to put through by every stratagem known to legislative art, but of the President of the United States. It refers to the bill modifying the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, and was made by President Taft in his speech at Passaic last week. Let us translate the statement into other words to see exactly what it means. The President in effect says: "There is a bill before a committee of the House providing for legislation which was promised in the Republican platform. The party leaders are afraid that if the elected Representatives of the

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people in the House have an opportunity freely to debate and amend this bill they will so change it that it will become an 'obnoxious' bill. The leaders therefore will try to create a 'parliamentary condition' which will prevent the Representatives of the people from freely debating and amending this bill, and will make it necessary for them to pass the bill as it stands or to reject it. I cannot anticipate, however, whether this maneuver can be accomplished or not."

This statement by the President illustrates two of his admirable qualities: he believes in carrying out the pledges of the party platform, and he is frank and open, sometimes to the point of *naïveté*, with the people. It is well for the President to try to make his party live up to its pledges; it is well for the President to take the people into his confidence; but it is deplorable that President Taft should give his countenance to such methods of securing legislation, even in the cause of the redemption of party promises.

We believe in the injunction bill, and we disbelieve in the amendment to which President Taft refers. But infinitely more strongly do we disbelieve in legislation by "parliamentary condition." When, four years ago, the Senate was prevented by parliamentary maneuvering from even considering, much less voting upon, the Philippine Tariff Bill, we uttered a strong protest. We were in favor of the enactment of the Philippine Tariff Bill. And now, although we are not in favor of the amendments to the injunction bill, we no less strongly protest against parliamentary maneuvering to prevent the House from considering and voting upon those amendments. This kind of legislation by "parliamentary conditions" was the essence of Cannonism. It was the hall-mark of the political era which is passing.

It is the House of Representatives, elected by the people to represent them, which should legislate, and not the President or a little group of party leaders. It might be better to have a bad law passed after opportunity for free and full discussion and amendment in the House than to have a good law passed by an autocratic group in the House through the creation of a "parliamentary condition."

THE SOUTH AMERICAN CENTENNIAL

Our growing interest in the republics which extend from our southern frontier to Cape Horn should find fresh stimulus in this centennial year of their political independence. Argentina has called the world's attention to it by a commemorative exposition, whose announcement recalls how we did the same in 1876. And yet Argentina, which thus leads her sister states, did not attain political stability till the closing decade of the nineteenth century. This slow and stormy evolution of national life has drawn reproach upon South America as a "mother of revolutions." But, when justly estimated, it compares not unfavorably with the course of political evolution in Europe. One must not forget the internecine Wars of the Roses in the England of the fifteenth century, and the horrible Thirty Years' War which nearly ruined Germany in the seventeenth century. Older children, in scoffing at the tantrums of younger ones, forget their earlier selves. The comparatively peaceful evolution of our own National life is largely due to the stormy experiences that had taught earlier generations the political wisdom exemplified by our Revolutionary fathers.

Napoleon, who contributed so much to our National expansion by selling us Louisiana, unwittingly fathered South American independence by giving his brother Joseph the crown of Ferdinand VII of Spain. Resentment flamed throughout Spain's American colonies, and the standard of revolt was raised, first in Venezuela, April 19, 1810, and a month later in Argentina. The first thought of the leaders was not separation from the mother country. The revolutionary *juntas*, or provisional governments, proposed to rule only till Ferdinand's restoration. But the logic of events soon carried them past that half-way point into a resolve to secure permanent independence. The spirit of nationality awoke, and the characteristic differences of the Southern from the Northern revolutionists began to unfold.

The Northern patriots were a homogeneous people of North European stock. They and their leaders accepted a morally

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vigorous religion, and had enjoyed a century and a half of political training and parliamentary discipline in town meetings or provincial legislatures, or both. Under the generally loose rein of their distant sovereign they had learned both the theory and the practice of popular government. Their great chief was a man of that singularly noble and disinterested character which attracts the veneration of mankind, and in more than one crisis their bond of union and strength was their confidence in him.

The Southern patriots were a heterogeneous population of four varieties, divided by social condition and racial antagonisms—Spaniards, Creoles, Indians, and half-breeds—the last three constituting the vast majority. The Creoles led the revolutionary movement and established its *juntas*, the Spanish party fighting them, just as American Tories in the Carolinas fought the patriots. They and their leaders acknowledged a morally decadent religion, and had inherited such incapacity for orderly popular government as nearly three centuries of rigorous despotic rule could hardly fail to produce. Their liberty had been restricted in all lines, even in such matters as food and clothing. Foreign trade had been forbidden them under penalty of confiscation and death. Of genuinely republican government, as resulting from the peaceful interplay of opposing parties in the political game of in and out, they had neither experience nor conception. In their scheme of political life there was no place for it. In some of their republics, as in Venezuela, there is to this day small freedom for a party in free and peaceful opposition to the party in power. But this essential factor of stable popular government is the fruit of experience. Even in England it did not ripen till after the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty by the Revolution of 1688. Where it is lacking, recurring revolutions naturally result, whether in a monarchy or in a republic, and under such conditions republicanism is but a form of Cæsarism. For instance, see Paraguay, where Francia ruled as dictator from 1814 to his death in 1840. Or see Mexico, whose turbulence ceased only when Diaz, an insurrectionist against the wise administration of Juarez, took, in 1877, the Presidency, which he has held ever since by the strong hand, with the support of economic interests that demand order, whatever becomes of democratic liberty. American investments in Mexico are reputed as $800,000,000, and European investments are probably no less.

Amid the welter of all this racial and factional strife two distinguished figures stand forth prominently—Simon Bolivar, the Venezuelan Creole, and Benito Juarez, the Mexican Indian. Bolivar has been termed the Washington of South America. He freely devoted both wealth and energy with conspicuous military successes to the revolutionary cause, but, as regards his political career and achievement, he appears to have been rather of the Cromwellian type. Juarez approximated to the Lincoln type. Born in poverty and early orphaned, he rose through merit to be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1857, and three years later to the Presidency. Holding this by successive reelection till his death in 1872, and triumphing over domestic insurrection and French invasion, wise, patient, unselfishly patriotic, he became the father of radical reforms, and the great pacificator of the long-distracted republic.

As Napoleon's ambition had opened the door to South American independence, so his fall gave Spain some hope of reestablishing her sway. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed their Holy Alliance with the avowed purpose of everywhere combating liberal and revolutionary tendencies, and Spain invoked their assistance in putting down her American rebels. At this critical moment the United States covered them with its shield by President Monroe's announcement, in 1823, that any attempt of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere" would be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety." This, followed by a crushing defeat of the Spanish forces a year later, sufficed to extinguish all hope of a reconquest, but some twenty years went by before the independence of the revolted colonies was formally acknowledged by treaties. South America's debt to the United States is conspicuously recognized

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by the magnificent building in Rio de Janeiro named the "Monroe Palace," in which the Pan-American Conference of 1906 was held. The only other great occasion on which the Monroe Doctrine has effectively warned off European aggressors was the attempt of Napoleon III during our Civil War to make Mexico the Empire of the Austrian prince Maximilian. The notice to leave the country, which was diplomatically given him as soon as the Confederacy collapsed, was obeyed when our victorious forces were seen moving toward the Mexican frontier.

Strong and stable governments have now succeeded in most of the Spanish-American states to the weak and unsettled political life of their long formative period. Railways, steamships, electric cables, and commercial interests have been efficient pacificators. Chile and Argentina have joined in erecting on their boundary that noble statue, "the Christ of the Andes," as their joint pledge of perpetual peace. A remarkable civilization is growing up. There is Buenos Aires, with its ten-million-dollar opera-house and over a million people, a more than tenfold increase in half a century. There are the Universities of Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Bogotá, with their aggregate of from six to seven thousand students. Argentina now promises to rival the United States in feeding Europe. The Drago Doctrine, put forth by the Argentine delegate whose name it bears, is accepted by the civilized world in conference at The Hague, declaring that no nation shall attempt the forcible collection of debt from another until arbitration has been fully tried.

Our countrymen need to correct their ideas of South Americans no less than untraveled Europeans need to correct their ideas of us. The protracted revolutionary period whose ill fame is so tenacious probably caused less slaughter and ruin than our own brief but terrific Civil War. While South Americans have suspected us of ambitious designs, we, with equal unreason, have depreciated them. But the Pan-American Conferences have largely dissipated such misunderstandings. The historic visit of Mr. Root, as our Secretary of State, to the South American capitals made that gloriously clear in 1906. The centennial year of their now so hopefully developing national life invites from us the congratulations which our highest military officer, Major-General Wood, goes with a naval squadron of five to present to the Argentine Republic on May 25, its centenary day.

THE SPECTATOR

"Yes, there's a special from Washington at one-fifteen," said the brisk young man at the Information Bureau in the Philadelphia station, "and a special from Chicago, and one from New York— Say, what is it out at Bryn Mawr to-day, anyway? The college girls don't play football, do they?" The Spectator was able to inform the Information Bureau that it was the May-day revels that were thus drawing crowds to the leafy lawns of Bryn Mawr. There was no doubt of the drawing power. It filled both the special and the regular trains, which ran packed with alumnæ, patronesses, and the public. The Bryn Mawr station was a jam of automobiles and pedestrians—and such spring hats! Ninety per cent of the crowds were feminine, and if the Spectator had ever believed that a college atmosphere destroys the natural feminine instincts, those hats would have converted him. They showed no trace of the higher education whatever. There was indeed no breath of instruction in the balmy air, and the May-day pilgrims were solely on pleasure bent, to judge by their gay and decorative look. Which were alumnæ, indeed, and which only the common or garden feminine variety could be known only by personal acquaintance. The college woman may be different from the Eternal Feminine, but she does not look so.

It was a pleasant stroll from the station to the campus, through the big stone arch that guards the entrance, and along leafy walks bowered in spring green. The performers were gathering for the pageant, and the Spectator almost ran into the Dragon of the Play of Saint George—a fine scaly Dragon, tail over arm, scudding along so as to be on time. Lithe heralds in black and white with long trumpets were here, there, and everywhere, never too busy to answer questions, but never resting from their endeavors to keep

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things moving. The surge of the crowds was toward the grand stand, on Taylor Green—a broad, grassy campus—where four May-poles beribboned in all sorts of colors stood at the four corners, while from the gray stone towers on two sides fluttered the gayest of flags and pennants. It was a good day for banners, for the brisk breeze floated them out finely; but they were all at half-mast on account of England's mourning for her King—the one touch of shadow in the sunny pageant.

The grand stand was crammed with the élite of some dozen cities, for Bryn Mawr has daughters everywhere, not to mention the four hundred and seventy-five undergraduates who took part in the revels, and whose friends came from far and near to applaud them. From the grand stand spread the crowds, all around the green, some armed with camp-stools, others sitting on the grass in true May-day style, and others in the back ranks perched on chairs or, in the case of some youths, ensconced up in the trees, *à la* Zaccheus. Between seven and eight thousand were there, the Spectator computed, and yet so broad was the campus and so well arranged the pageant procession that each one had a full sight of it as it marched along the wide walk.

"The Pageant—To the Sound of Trumpets," the quaint programmes announced it, and it came on, a medley of costumes and color, under the May sun. First the eight heralds, with silver trumpets at their lips, and a band of musicians, garbed in green, doing the real blowing behind them. Then came the Robin Hood group (each group in the pageant represented one of the revels to be given later on in the day), with Maid Marian all in flowing green, a hawthorn wreath on her golden hair. Robin and Marian were brave and gay on horseback, the lord and lady of the May, and Will Scarlet, Friar Tuck, and Alan-a-Dale came behind them with the troop of outlaw archers. A band of morris dancers in blue and white, with bells on their ankles, danced tinkling by, and then boys and girls, in couples, hand in hand, ready to dance around the great May-pole in their midst, garlanded with roses and drawn by huge, patient oxen, also rose-bedecked. Twelve chimney-sweeps and Jack-in-the-Green followed, the latter looking like an immense gyrating extinguisher done in foliage, and then a smock-frocked shepherd with his sheep, who would go on the grass in spite of all efforts. The characters in Ben Jonson's masque "The Hue and Cry after Cupid" came next, their gauzy wings and rose-wreaths glowing radiant in the sunshine, and then, amid milkmaids, chimney-sweeps, May-pole dancers, strolling players, and a crowd of revelers, came the characters of "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" (with Miss Helen Taft as the Duke of Athens—the observed of all observers, of course); the persons in the play of St. George and the Dragon, Dragon and all; the characters in the Masque of Flowers, with Silenus and his ass; the plowboys and Hobby-Horse of the Revesby Sword Play, led by their Fool, with the Sword Dancers; and the characters in the "Old Wives' Tale" with the Three Fates in mystic draperies. It was all extraordinarily gay, picturesque, and gallantly carried out by the marchers, with that true mixture of the fanciful and the roistering which belonged to "the spacious age of great Elizabeth." One does not think of it as feminine—that Elizabethan note—and yet these college girls had it. After all, Elizabeth was a woman of learning, and would probably have stood at the head of her class in college if women's colleges had been.

The pageant circled once, and then broke up in a joyous shout, all hands scattering over the green, and then weaving and grouping in and out around the four lesser May-poles, while the great-garlanded one was being set up in the center. This kaleidoscopic, shifting crowd of players was one of the prettiest sights of the day. Robin Hood and a turbaned Turk, Father Winter with a pretty milkmaid on his arm, Cupid and a chimney-sweep, a flower nymph and Blunderbore, were samples of the merry mixture of revelers. The musicians played old English airs, and round and round the May-poles swung the laughing dancers, braiding up the many-colored ribbons until, with another gay shout, the dances were finished, and the whole merry troop broke up and

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streamed away, leaving the green deserted under the floating banners.

After that the revels began again, each in its own appointed sylvan spot. It was a seven-ringed circus of a day, for seven distinct and different revels were given in seven different places more or less far apart, and in addition a group of strolling players—alumnæ, and free lances at that—gave performances here, there, and anywhere, at irregular intervals, while two groups of afternoon tea-tables kept up a continuous performance in two most inviting spots. The attempt to see it all was impossible, but the Spectator congratulates himself that he saw more of it than could possibly be expected of the ordinary mortal frame. It required sprinting at times, but what of that? Was it not May-day?

St. George and the Dragon, against the background of an ivied wall, and framed by a semicircle of onlookers seated on the grass or the omnipresent campstool, was of the quaintest. Rant and rodomontade its lines were; but the Saint, the Turkish Champion, the Giant Blunderbore, and, above all, the Dragon, were well worth a special train. And the learned leech, who revived the Dragon with a capsule. Were capsules invented in Elizabethan England? Perhaps not—and perhaps no Elizabethan fool ever had the enchanting dimples of the Fool in the Revesby Sword Play. But such a Fool, and Hobby-horse and Pickle Herring—the Spectator would have stayed with them all the afternoon if the Masque of Flowers had not been going on in the cloisters (a brave sight against the green of the quadrangle and the gray walls, thronged to the topmost battlements with a most decorative crowd), and if Robin Hood had not been rescuing Fair Ellen and outwitting Prince John down at the end of the Maple Avenue. Besides, there was the "Old Wives' Tale" unfolding in the steep amphitheater of the Second Hollow, and "A Midsummer's-Night Dream" in the First Hollow, not to mention the joyous dancing on Denbeigh Green all the afternoon by successive bands of milkmaids, chimney-sweeps, and morris dancers. The Spectator tore himself away from one revel after another, never satisfied, yet always pursuing. He admired the calm choice of one woman who selected the cloisters and sat there all the afternoon, seeing "The Hue and Cry after Cupid" and the Masque of Flowers given over and over again; but he himself could not bear to concentrate thus on one thing of beauty as a joy forever. The essence of a May-day, surely, is to find and follow through wood and dale.

Robin Hood was the popular favorite. A serried ring, three to six deep, surrounded the glade where it went on, and woe to those who did not come early! It was a marvel to see these sturdy, rosy players of woodland parts. When Robin Hood and Little John thwacked away in a bout at quarter-staff, and Sir Richard of the Lea came thundering down the glade at full gallop on his big white charger, the Spectator felt like rubbing his eyes. Could these be girls—and college girls at that, the anæmic, overstudying creatures so familiar in controversial literature on the subject? Certainly no chorus the Spectator has ever seen on any stage could have shown up in the challenging sunlight more sturdily, lithely, and blithely than these merry bands of greenwood players.

"Why shouldn't they be full of health and grace?" said one of the Spectator's feminine friends, who looked on with him. "My class graduated at Smith in '83—forty-nine of us. In those days college was an experiment; and how the doctors were arguing about us! They insisted on our breaking down; but we didn't, either then or since. When we had our twenty-fifth reunion, two years ago, the whole forty-nine graduates were alive and as healthy as anybody else. Could any man's college do better than that? We never thought about our health, as far as I remember, when we were in college—we just felt we were having the time of our lives. The doctors simply wasted a lot of worry—don't you think so?"

And the Spectator, looking at Friar Tuck and Maid Marian under the greenwood tree, heartily agreed in this expert opinion.

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REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

BY A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

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THE question of reforming the House of Lords involves two distinct problems: that of changing its composition, and that of reducing its powers.

The Conservatives are concerned with the first of these problems. They do not want to curtail the authority of the Lords, because that would mean weakening a bulwark of their own political power; but they are prepared to reform the composition of the House by dropping out peers who are unworthy or fail to attend, and even by adding members drawn from other sources. They are willing to do this in order to remove causes of popular criticism, and establish a second chamber that commands more general public respect.

The Liberals, on the contrary, are intent chiefly upon reducing the powers of the House, because the Lords, being heavily Conservative, are a constant obstacle in their path. They naturally desire to carry out their policy without let or hindrance, and this they cannot do so long as the Lords block the way. No doubt the Liberals, if successful in curbing the so-called veto of the peers, intend to follow it up by a change in the composition of the House of Lords itself. But that is far less important; because when the Lords can be overridden by the Commons with ease, their resistance to the wishes of the popular chamber will no longer be a very serious matter; and because it is improbable that any change can be made that will not leave a majority of the members permanently Conservative.

Americans only partially familiar with current English politics sometimes misunderstand the position of the House of Lords. They ask why a body of hereditary nobles should have power to thwart the will of the people. But we must not forget that, whatever the effect of their action may be, the Lords do not claim a right to resist the popular will. The time has long passed in England when any man, or any privileged class, can assert a right to do that. Their claim is merely to ascertain, before yielding, that the people really desire a policy demanded by the House of Commons. This attitude is, in fact, the reason for the growth in their power within the last half-century. Fifty years ago the Lords were weak and timid because they shrank from opposing the Commons, who were the acknowledged embodiment of the national will. Now they are bolder because, making no pretense of any inherent authority of their own, they assert merely a right to appeal from the representative body to its masters, the electorate. The increase of vigor in the Lords is seen in the recent rejection of the Budget. It has provoked a hotly debated constitutional question not raised before for the simple reason that it was hardly necessary to discuss the existence of a power which it was not supposed the Lords would ever venture to exercise. The present attitude of the peers is one symptom of the world-wide loss of confidence in the infallibility of representative assemblies as exponents of public opinion. Nor is that loss of confidence wholly unjustified when we consider that by the House of Commons is meant only the dominant party in that House, and that the nation is continually shifting its allegiance from one party to the other.

Impartially used, power to delay legislation of a novel character until the electorate has had a chance to think twice is highly valuable. Every form of government needs to be checked by some force not wholly in harmony with its own fundamental principles, and that is not less true of popular government than of any other. However perfect democracy may be in its essence, it is not quite free from defects in application. We are at times aware that our State Legislatures, even our Houses of Congress, do not reflect enlightened public opinion with perfect accuracy; and that a veto power wisely used is not superfluous. Nor does a serious-minded people chafe under occasional

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mistakes in the use of such a power, or become intolerant of delay in the execution of its wishes. If it did, that very fact would be evidence of political immaturity, of a spirit of impatience out of accord with complete trust in self-government. The thing that irritates is a veto power, a privilege to delay, that is always used in favor of a certain interest, or to help one particular party. There is the rub in the case of the Lords, for, if they do not pretend to resist the popular will, they have no scruples against "dishing" the Liberals.

In consequence of the oscillations of the political pendulum, characteristic of modern popular government, delay skillfully used by a party may mean postponement for an indefinite period. This was the case with the Home Rule Bill in 1893, where the action of the House of Lords blocked the bill until the next election, when the Tories came into power; and seventeen years have already passed without bringing an Irish Parliament. Ostensibly, indeed, the House of Lords merely delays legislation until the public can express an opinion, but the confusion of the issues at a general election is such that it is very difficult to say whether the oracle has uttered its voice on a particular question or not. A Liberal House of Commons fresh from a general election claims a mandate to effect certain reforms; but the Conservatives say that these were not the real questions that the public decided. Did the recent general election, for example, turn on the Budget, on the power of the House of Lords to reject it, or on one of the other matters discussed during the campaign? Suppose the Lords should now refuse consent to the measures reducing their own authority, and that the King, as is altogether probable, should not feel justified in overbearing them by a wholesale creation of peers until the electorate had pronounced in favor of such a course; then Mr. Asquith must dissolve Parliament; or resign and leave Mr. Balfour to dissolve it. In either case a general election would be held, but what would the issue be? The Liberals would, no doubt, try to confine it to the question of reform of the House of Lords, but the Conservatives would insist that to return Mr. Asquith to power would mean Home Rule for Ireland, while to give a majority to Mr. Balfour would mean a protective tariff in favor of English industries. What, then, would an election decide? Would the people really be passing on the question of the House of Lords, or on Home Rule, or on fiscal reform? Uncertainties of this kind give great scope to a power of delay in the hands of a partisan body.

It is well to have a brake on the coach; but in this instance the brake is, in fact, under the hand of the leader of the Tory party, who can virtually control the House of Lords; and it is scarcely used save when a Liberal Prime Minister holds the whip and reins. Naturally the Conservatives plead for an effective brake, and the Liberals for one that will not seriously delay the speed of their driver. An outsider, who is interested in the conveyance and safety of the passengers rather than in the struggle for the possession of the reins, asks himself whether such a condition is unavoidable; whether the brake need always be in the hands of the same party. If an American, he probably believes that a second chamber and an Executive veto have, on the whole, worked well; and he knows that they have not in the long run favored one political party at the expense of the other.

The problems of popular government cannot be treated to-day without regard to those political forces which surge through all large democracies in the form of organized parties. To understand modern politics we must observe the varying action of parties under different kinds of institutions; and in the English parliamentary system the influence of party is peculiarly strong, because the executive government, and the control of all important legislation, are lodged in the hands of the leaders of one party, who are forced by their situation to act as a unit. A proceeding like that of the Insurgents in our House of Representatives would have been impossible in the House of Commons; for, if successful, it would have involved the resignation of the Cabinet, its replacement by an administration of the other party, and a dissolution of the House. In short, the whole government, executive and legislative, would have changed hands. The need of rigid party cohesion in the English parliamen-

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tary system explains the fear in Great Britain that the parliamentary system is breaking down from the splitting of the Liberal party into groups, although in fact those groups vote together far more consistently than the sections of any party in any legislative body in the United States. It is well known that the Irish Nationalists do not like some of the provisions in the Budget, so that if a vote could have been taken on the merits of those provisions alone, the majority of the House of Commons would probably have rejected them; but as they were essential to the programme of the Ministry, and their rejection would have entailed the fall of the Cabinet, the Irish Nationalists made up their minds to accept them as a condition of avoiding a change of administration. In short, we have the peculiar situation that a general election has been held at the instigation of the House of Lords, nominally to determine whether the people want the Budget; more than half of the newly elected House of Commons is apparently opposed to that Budget; and yet, so great is the force of party, that the majority of the House of Commons supports the Budget in order to maintain the Liberal Ministry in power.

Now the spirit of party is scarcely less strong in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. A majority of the Lords are not simply acting as a restraint on hasty legislation; they are not mainly safeguarding the privileges of their order, or the interests of the class to which they belong; they are playing the party game, and they cannot do otherwise. They cannot afford to assert their rights regardless of political consequences. Their interests and their principles are bound up with the fate of the Conservative party, and they are not so short-sighted as to throw the nation into the arms of the Liberals for an indefinite period by a stubborn insistence on privileges, or a stolid adherence to an unpopular policy. They act with an eye to the next election, and while striving to retain as much of their inheritance as possible, their immediate object is to help the Conservatives to spar for position at the next great national vote. They are not an independent legislative order which resists the popular will, but, admitting the ultimate supremacy of that will, they are, one might almost say, an electioneering body, certainly a body privileged to assert a powerful effect in framing the issues for a popular verdict and fixing a time when it shall be rendered. Every one familiar with democratic government must appreciate the importance of such a power, backed as it is by the vast social influence and wealth of the English aristocracy; and it is used by the peers for the benefit of the Conservative party.

This is the condition that English statesmen are obliged to face, and it determines the problem that they are called upon to solve. The remedy of the Liberals, embodied in the resolutions passed by the House of Commons on April 14, is certainly effective. Apart from the provision disabling the Lords from rejecting or amending any money bill, which from the point of view of the general situation is of secondary interest, it provides that a bill passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, with an interval of two years between the first introduction and final passage, shall become law without the consent of the Lords. During the first three years of a new Parliament (for the resolutions propose that Parliaments in future shall last only five years) the power of the peers to postpone a final decision on any matter until the next general election would be thereby destroyed. They would no longer be able to force upon a Liberal Ministry the alternative of dissolving Parliament at once, or putting off, perhaps for an indefinite time, legislation deemed essential. Nor would they be able, by rejecting or amending a bill, to keep an issue, that might otherwise be settled, permanently before the electorate. But such a change would clearly involve the abolition of any effective restraint by the second chamber. The Lords might still suggest modifications in a bill, and, if unimportant, they might be accepted, but more than this they could hardly do. In other words, the Liberal remedy for a condition that lodges the power of delay in the hands of a partisan second chamber is substantially to abolish the effective use of that power of delay.

On the other hand, no changes in the composition of the Lords, whether those proposed by Lord Rosebery or any that

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the Liberals might suggest, would of themselves strike at the root of the existing difficulty, that the second chamber plays politics on the Conservative side. Lord Salisbury is said to have remarked in 1893 that if Mr. Gladstone were to create five hundred Liberal peers to carry his Home Rule Bill, he would be obliged the next year to create five hundred more to counteract those he had already made, who would by that time have turned Conservative. No change short of a fresh choice of the whole House of Lords by a popular vote at each general election would be likely to prevent a majority of that House from being permanently in league with the Conservative party.

Neither of these remedies, therefore, tends to produce a second chamber that would act as a serious check on the House of Commons and exercise its powers with anything like impartiality. Nor is it easy to perceive how such a chamber can be provided under the English parliamentary government with its all-absorbing party system. This is the difficulty that cannot be left out of sight. It is conceivable that the device of a special referendum on any measure rejected by the Lords might result in popular votes disentangled from other issues, and not cast on party lines; but, apart from any other objection to the referendum, Mr. Asquith has rejected this suggestion on the ground that it would lessen the political responsibility of the House of Commons. In doing so it would lessen also the power of the Cabinet. It is conceivable that other devices might be suggested which would change the intimate relation of party to every political question. But the important thing to bear in mind in considering the problem of the House of Lords is that so long as all power is concentrated in the Cabinet, and so long as every vote in the House of Commons, or at a general election, affects the fate of the Ministry, a really non-partisan second chamber is impossible. It is only with this condition fully in mind that the existing English situation can be understood. The writer does not feel called upon to suggest any solution of these matters. It is enough that the quarrel is a very pretty quarrel as its stands, and that we do not spoil it by trying to explain it.

THE GREEN CHEST

BY E. L. PEARSON

IN the basement of Jimmy Toppan's house stood a green chest. It was bumped and scarred, and, worse than all, it was locked. Lovely things dwelt within it, so Jimmy said. It had come across the seas with some far-off great-uncle, and it was never opened. But if the cover should ever be raised, he who stood by should be envied of all boys. For inside was a large tank, filled with some liquid, the exact nature of which Jimmy never explained. In this silvery fluid swam or floated all manner of fairy shapes. There were mermaids, tiny golden fishes, and other strange inhabitants of the ocean. Enormous turtles reposed on the sands at the bottom, and gay little ships with bright rigging sailed overhead. All of these delectable objects were made, by the cunning of some foreign workman, out of glass. The golden hair of the mermaids, the scales of the fish, the sand, the sea-shells, the monstrous whales, the sword of the swordfish, the flippers of the turtles, the little lighthouse that stood on the shore, the beautifully colored seaweeds that clustered about the rocks, all of these—even the thread-like ropes and shrouds of the bobbing vessels—all were fashioned from brittle glass.

Did a boy ever have a more tantalizing vision dancing before his eyes? I stood and gazed at that green chest. A more stolid, unyielding affair cannot be imagined. It was dusty, and the corners of it were worn and rounded. The green paint which had covered it was faded, and in many spots knocked off altogether. Sailors' boots had kicked it, perhaps, or

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it had rocked about some cabin or hold when the waves of the real ocean had started a miniature tempest on the little sea within. What, then, had prevented collisions between the glass ships, or kept the mermaids from being shivered to bits on the reef? Some glass sailor must have steered the ships to safety, while the mermaids had plunged beneath the waves to find calmer water below.

The solution seemed to fit the case, but how was I ever to prove it? How was I to look at any of these charming things? The chest was locked, and locked it was likely to remain. A sort of decree had issued from Jimmy Toppan's great-aunt: no one was to see the inside of the chest. Nay, more, one must not even ask about it. It was locked tight, and there was an end of it. I never heard Jimmy's great-aunt say this; I never mentioned the chest in her presence. Nor did Jimmy say that the unlocking of the chest was forbidden. He described its contents in a way to set my imagination aflame. He did not say definitely that he had ever looked in it. But he let it be known that it held such glories that a glimpse therein was a vision of fairyland. And he somehow cast an air of mystery and awe about it, till I would no more have asked to have the cover raised than I would have presented myself, snub-nosed and with holes in the knees of my stockings, at the gates of Paradise with a request to be enrolled in the cherubs' chorus.

I never knew why there was such a curse upon the chest. But I gathered, somehow, that the great-uncle, or grandfather, or whoever he was, who had brought it from foreign parts had uttered, with his dying breath, a solemn injunction that it was to stay closed. The opening of Pandora's box was to be a holiday recreation compared to opening that green chest. It was no more to be disturbed than Shakespeare's bones. Why he should have transported it such a distance, with such infinite care, and then sealed it up forever, passed my understanding. Did the prohibition extend to grown-ups, or was it only for boys? That, also, I never could find out. I used to fancy that Jimmy's great-aunt stole down to the basement in the dark hours of night to gloat over the silver sea and its delicate inhabitants. Once in the late afternoon of an autumn day I detected her going chestwards, and I followed with beating heart. I got behind an apple barrel and watched her movements. But she only went to an ice-box, from which she took out a plate of mutton chops.

The intolerable curiosity aroused in me by Jimmy's account of the chest was equaled only by the fear I had to make any inquiries about it. I was convinced that a painful family secret overhung that green chest. Night after night I dreamed that I had been permitted to look within. Sometimes it was all I had imagined, and more. The ships, the mermaids, the turtles, and all the rest were there indeed. And others, new and indescribable forms, floated or swam in that enchanted ocean, glittering, fragile, wonderful. I could take them in my hand, play with them, and set them again in their element. They did not merely act the lifeless part of china figures in an aquarium. They moved about with an intelligence of their own; the ships spread gauzy sails to catch a magic wind, and flew before it. The whales rose to the surface, disported themselves heavily, like true whales, and blew jets of spray into the air. In the midst of my rapture I would wake; all the glass toys vanished, and I could have cried to find them gone. In the morning it would be impossible to recall these new figures. I remembered them dimly and more dimly as the hours of the day blurred my dream. The iridescent creatures turned to formless things of gray and drab, and then lost themselves, to be found again only in another dream.

But not all my sleeping experiences were so happy. Sometimes I would seem to approach the chest only to have Jimmy's great-aunt rise from behind it, shaking a broom. At other times I would lift the lid and find inside the chest the crouching figure of the long-departed great-uncle. He would jump out, gibbering frightfully, and I would scream and wake up. Thus the chest became surrounded by terrors even when viewed by daylight. Jimmy's great-aunt was like another dragon set over the golden apples. She kept watch by day, while at night the goblin uncle came on duty.

So we began to steer clear of the green

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chest and to confine our activities to other parts of the basement. Much has been written of the joy that dwells in old garrets. The basement is neglected. Yet, if dry and well lighted, it may have its points. In this one much importance was attached to a plate of sand set on a table. This, so Jimmy solemnly averred, was for the purpose of discovering the presence of mice in the basement. If they ran over the sand, their footprints would betray them, and traps might be set. It did not occur to me to marvel at the obliging nature of mice who should be at such great pains to record their arrival. Observing that Jimmy's great-aunt often inspected the plate of sand and smoothed its surface over after each inspection, we looked to it that she should never be disappointed. It is not hard to counterfeit small footprints, such as might be made by a scurrying mouse.

In an adjoining room there was a steam-boiler—part of the heating apparatus of the house. The existence of this boiler, the discovery of clay in Davenport's field, and the always present need of marbles, these conditions led to the foundation of an enterprise that occupied a number of weeks one summer. The clay was brought from "Davenport's," and rolled into balls of the proper size. These were placed on shingles and set to bake beneath the boiler. Visions of revolutionizing the marble industry spurred us on. We calculated that we could undersell the regular dealers and that profits would accrue. But although the clay balls were duly left beneath the boiler all night, there were defects in the finished product. The part that had rested on the shingle obstinately remained flat. We found no way of giving our marbles the glaze necessary to the real thing; so the dealers continued to ask the exorbitant sum of a cent for ten, and did not have to break prices to meet our competition. It is possible that the fact that there was no heat in the boiler had something to do with this fiasco.

After this, to keep our minds from wandering toward the green chest, we started the manufacture of gunpowder on a large scale. The raw material, rotting stone, could be procured from the sand heap and dump, which at that date (before the rise of city improvement associations) adorned the banking at the end of the frog pond. This dump had many attractions, not the least of which were the squash vines which trailed over it. They never got beyond the blossoming stage, but that did not trouble us. We were not utilitarians, and the possession of raw squashes would have availed us little. The flowers were interesting, and I scarcely need to point out the value of the stems. We cut a slit near one end, and they became in our hands trumpets with which to blow soul-animating strains. It is, of course, necessary to scrape off the prickles with a jack-knife, or the lips of the performer are apt to suffer.

But these were by the way. The rotting stone, red, gray, brown, and black, was the most valuable product of the dump. We carried it to a broad, flat piece of slate which covered a cistern just outside the basement windows. Here, with hard rocks, we ground it fine. It then became, by the chemistry which worked so quickly in those days, gunpowder. The black dust was the ordinary article. Mixed with red or other colors, it was transformed into various high explosives. Then we stored it in packets in the basement, where it might be drawn upon in case of need—any sudden attacks by Indians or pirates, for instance.

Storing the powder had led us to the basement once more. Our operations here would come to an end before long, for Jimmy and his family were soon to move. On our last trip our eyes wandered timidly to the green chest. But neither of us spoke about it. I wondered if the chest would be stolen, or be burned up, or would I die and never look inside it? Already the little glass ships and fishes had become less real, though more beautiful, than the folks of elf-land. What small hope I had ever entertained of seeing them was dwindling to a pin-point.

Then Jimmy's family moved away; though his great-aunt stayed behind—probably to guard the green chest.

I was never troubled by any suspicion that the tank, the ocean, and the glass creatures existed only in Jimmy's imagination. Such doubts did not fret me then, nor afterwards. The green chest remained one of the mysteries of the believing years.

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WHERE THE WOMEN VOTE

BY PAUL KENNADAY

"HOW does it feel to be an enfranchised woman?" I asked a New Zealand woman one day shortly after my arrival in her daring little land of successful big experiments. "And how does it feel to be an enfranchised man?" was the wise and complete answer to my rather silly joke.

And thereafter, traveling slowly but safely up and down her thousand-mile narrow strip of island country on State railways, eating State-reared oysters and State-certified mutton, butter, and cheese, toasting my feet over State-mined coal, served by waiters earning a State-fixed wage, buying in State-inspected shops, visiting large State "bursted up" estates, escaping the wiles of State Life Insurance Company agents, and tempted to prolong my stay in "God's Own Country" until qualified for a State's old age pension—during these months not once was encountered a reference to votes for women on trains, stage-coaches, or boats, from the pulpit, in clubs, trades halls, or in the press.

The subject is simply one no more discussed in New Zealand, except an inquisitive traveler comes along from "the States" or from "home"—as England still is in name even to the men and women born and brought up in New Zealand. It is far from old England and far from current English ways, indeed, this new country of New Zealand. No prisons and hunger strikes here, no leagues of militant Suffragettes, nor pickets before the gates of Parliament. New Zealand men gave the vote to women almost without the asking, sixteen years ago. And when they did this, typically enough of their temper, they placed the adult native Maori women on the same footing as the Maori men in respect of the franchise. So that the four Maori members of Parliament are now returned by the votes of all the adults, male and female, of their tribes.

As far back as 1878 the Liberal, or Progressive party, as it was called, then for the first time in office, brought forward a bill to extend the right to vote for members of the House of Representatives to women rate-payers, who already had the franchise in municipal elections. At that time members were, in general, unwilling to grant what had been then seriously considered by but few in the colony except a small group of enthusiastic advocates. Nine years later, however, a coalition Government then in power advanced the question to the point of moving in Parliament a bill extending the suffrage to women. But again the opponents of the reform were the stronger, and the bill went no further than a second reading and an adverse consideration in committee.

Then for some years little more attention was paid to the matter. Hard times were testing the colonists, and feeling was running high on the all-important subject of land holdings and land taxation. What has gone down in New Zealand history as the Great Maritime Strike for a brief space brought the shipping of the islands to a standstill in 1890 and solidified the growing radical discontent of the wage-earners. Intense and bitter resentment pervaded the minds of the workingmen as a result of the complete defeat of the dockers and seamen at the hands of a united class of employers. In the turmoil of party and class strife of those years men gave little consideration to the rights of women. Nor were the women much inclined to push their own claims.

But widespread discontent with the old order of things brought in the Progressive party with a good working majority in 1891, and, all unsuspected and unheralded, woman's emancipation was at hand. The lower house, having now in it a strong labor element, suddenly adopted the Electoral Bill before them, with an amendment giving to all adult women the right to vote. But the still Conservative upper house held out. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union then took a hand in support of the bill, and then a real struggle was on, with the Prohibitionists and Liberals for a time banded against the Conservative Opposition. At this point dissensions between the Liberals and Pro-

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hibitionists broke out, and many of the Opposition favored the passage of the bill, thinking thus to add to the difficulties of the Government forces by increasing the enmity of the liquor trade toward them. At last, by a majority of two, the bill was passed, and so, in the fall of 1893, almost without effort, certainly without stones and pickets and arrests, the right to vote was given to New Zealand women by New Zealand men.

Prophecy ran riot at the time over the effect enfranchisement would have upon women, upon men, and upon the legislation of the colony. One side set forth that the franchise would transform unreasonable woman into a reasoning voter, casting her ballot with a heavy sense of awful responsibility, that at once the whole tone of politics would be refined, and that men as well as women would have no other thought than the public good. Others predicted a race of mannish women, homes abandoned, children neglected, politicians returned to office who best had appealed to feminine foibles. Woman's place was in the home and with her children, they said, and the field of politics should be left free to the men—just as the men are saying in England and in America to-day.

A good deal of wild talk was indulged in on both sides, but events seem to have refuted all the prophets. With the single exception of the license question, it is more than doubtful whether in New Zealand any tangible results, good or evil, can be attributed to the political enfranchisement of women.

The game of politics seems to be played in the same old way as before, there as everywhere else. Neither Parliamentary debates nor the debaters have been raised above the very ordinary level of pre-feminine voting. In fact, more than one survivor of the early Parliaments recalls now sadly those good old days when "Hansard" bristled with Latin and Greek quotations, and when speeches prepared with great pains were delivered with studied care. But the wisdom of the ancients and the literary finish of a past generation have now given way before representatives of the wider constituencies of these times, labor leaders, merchants, and lawyers, whose only lapse from plain English is when they drop into that barbarous admixture of Cockney and Yankee the traveler recognizes as "Australian." On all hands it has been admitted, however, that it has been the payment of members and not the votes of women that has brought the speeches in Parliament down from their former Olympian heights to the level of present common understanding. For this reform it was that made it financially possible for poorer and less cultured men to oppose and supplant the rich run-holders and university graduates who formerly held sway in the councils of New Zealand.

Nor does it appear that the polling and electioneering in the times when men only voted were any different in tone from the orderly, sober family affair they are now. Women go to the polls alone, or with their husbands, fathers, or brothers, and vote without annoyance or intimidation according as their consciences dictate or their whims decide, quite as do their menfolk. But elections in New Zealand never were marked by drunkenness and disgraceful scenes such as sometimes occur in large American cities. The whole spirit and nature of New Zealand is against that sort of thing. There are no big cities there, for one thing, with their slums and lodging-house repeaters; nor are there rich interests seeking to debauch the electorate with bribes. Wellington, the capital, has but 58,000 inhabitants, and Christchurch, Dunedin, and Auckland are the only other municipalities of over 30,000. Then there are but five other cities of over 6,000 and less than 10,000 inhabitants each, and nine just passing the five thousand mark. The remainder of the scant million New Zealanders, men, women, and children, European and native Maori, live in small towns or hamlets, or are scattered on farms and sheep-runs over the North and South Islands, which form the two principal divisions of the colony, lately turned Dominion. It is a homogeneous and literate population, and, except in the four principal cities, almost wholly engaged in agriculture and pastoral pursuits. While party feeling may at times run high with them, there is no opportunity for gangs and floaters, intimidation, and stuffed ballot-boxes. So the women had not much to reform on this score.

When it comes to the "Socialistic"

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legislation that has made New Zealand famous, one is on debatable ground with the advocates of votes for women. Certainly women have votes in New Zealand, and certainly since they have had votes much progressive legislation has been passed in New Zealand. *Ergo*, votes for women. But by the same easy *post hoc propter hoc* method we may attribute to the enfranchisement of women the fall in the birth rate in New Zealand from 40.78 per 1,000 of the population in 1880 to 27.30 in 1907; or, again, that whereas at the time when women gained the ballot there was an excess of 1,786 spinsters over bachelors in the colony, the census of 1906 shows the bachelors to outnumber the spinsters by 9,633.

As a matter of fact, the general birth rate and the size of families has declined in New Zealand as it has in other parts of the civilized world, and from a diversity of causes in which it would be impossible to assign any specified part to the fact that New Zealand women now have an interest in affairs of State added to their former cares as mothers. If the point is pressed that the increased comforts, complexities, and wider cares of these later days are but poor compensation for the failure of women to bear the numerous progeny their mothers and grandmothers considered enjoined upon them, the New Zealand mother of to-day may fairly retort that what children she does have she at least preserves. Seventy-three infants only under one year of age now die out of every 1,000 born in New Zealand, as compared with 326 per thousand in Chile, 268 in Russia, 196 in Prussia, 223 in Austria, 149 in France, 147 in England and Wales, and 149 in the United States.

Although there is plausibility in this contention that women by their votes have either hastened or materially affected the legislation for the common good in New Zealand, facts and the general consensus of opinion in New Zealand fail to establish this claim as well founded. The Liberal or Progressive party that gave the vote to women in 1893 was well committed to reform measures all along the line when, under the leadership of Balance, it came into power in 1891 in the wake of the Great Maritime Strike and the land and labor disputes over which the colony was then divided. After the death of Balance in 1893, "Dick" Seddon, "King Dick," succeeded to his former chief's position, and for thirteen years absolutely dominated New Zealand and its policy.

His was the master mind holding obstreperous factions together, forcing through by sheer strength of will and body measures he believed to be for the benefit of the community at large. By his alluring personality as well as by his knowledge and genuine appreciation of the working class, of which he was himself a member, he held a place in the affections and the confidence of New Zealanders which no one before or since has approached. He gathered about him men of some ability, took what was of value in their suggestions, adapted them to his need, and received from a grateful public about all the credit. He knew how to insure the passage of land reforms and labor legislation by the promise of road improvements and bridges, and could carry out threats to withhold patronage and public moneys from districts returning Opposition members. If he was something of a demagogue and not much of a democrat, at least he genuinely wanted to be a kind friend to the people he perhaps debauched. He was sincere in his desire so to improve the conditions of life for the small farmers and workingmen that New Zealand might in truth be what with his splendid optimism he first christened it—God's Own Country. Big and burly, with the strength of ten, he outlasted and outwitted his opponents. Had he lived in America, Seddon probably would have been our most notable, and withal our most honest, Boss. In New Zealand he worked himself up from miner and publican to Premier, and held that office until his death in harness in 1906.

It was the Seddon Government which brought forth or materially amended very many of the more advanced legislative enactments now on the statute-books of New Zealand. And perhaps woman's innate conservatism, that Seddon used to talk about, was a check to him in some of his State experiments. Or, as he himself preferred to interpret it, perhaps it has been woman's conservatism that has prevented changes of policies, and that has continued in power from 1891 to to-day

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the Progressive party, which first gave to her the vote.

But, on the whole, the opinion of New Zealand men and women themselves is that women since they have had the franchise have had a clear and direct influence on very few political measures aside from the single one of temperance reform. In that they have taken a decided stand, and, with their Woman's Christian Temperance Union propaganda and their votes, they have succeeded in creating a well-marked and slowly growing public sentiment in favor of further restriction on the issuance of licenses to public-houses. To such an extent is this so that on the three questions submitted for local option at the triennial State elections—continuance of existing licenses, reduction, and no license—the total votes recorded in favor of no license have, of late, been greater than the numbers recorded for either of the other two, though attaining in but a few districts the three-fifths of all the votes cast which are necessary to affect the number of licenses issued.

Graduated taxes on income and on improved real estate values, the "bursting up" of large estates for the benefit of small tenants, advances to settlers, compulsory arbitration, with its adjunct of State-fixed wages, shops' regulation, old age pensions, and industrial accident insurance; State railways, posts, telephones, and post-office savings banks, State life and fire insurance—in the enactment of none of these measures can the influence of women's votes be found. And though it is not susceptible of proof that the votes of women have not helped to preserve this liberal legislation or to amend it so as to enlarge its scope and usefulness, an acquaintance with the trend of opinion among New Zealand men, be they employers or employees, factory workers or pastoralists, leaves the decided impression that State aid and regulation is regarded by the male voter of New Zealand as a proper and, indeed, essential function of government.

With or without the votes of women, Seddon and his successor, Sir Joseph Ward, still would have been kept in office by men who had faith in them and whose desires these astute politicians understood and catered to.

It cannot be said that the franchise has wrought any noticeable metamorphosis in the minds or manners of New Zealand women, or of their enfranchised sisters in Australia. Like their less fortunate English and American cousins, these women still find their chief occupation and interest in looking after their husbands and children and in the petty details of housekeeping. They do not hold public office even in New Zealand, and but a small number of them are in the professions or business. Only eighteen per cent of them are breadwinners. Still the men to an overwhelming proportion go out into the world of work and ideas and the women stay behind to the work that is never done, to the keeping of the house and to the sphere in which it has pleased men to place them. Spite of her equality with man as a voter, the woman of Australia and New Zealand is still economically dependent upon man, and with the maintenance she receives from father, husband, or brother she but naturally takes at the same time most of the ideas she has of politics and parties.

But in a new and thinly populated country where there are no people of great wealth and very few of no means, women of the "leisure class" are as rare as those unfortunates whom the maladjustments and iniquities of older systems of society force upon the streets. Class distinctions have not become marked, and, vote or no vote, a certain independence of character is developed, and a practical ability to help herself is observable in the New Zealand woman as it is across the sea in those parts of Australia where she has but very recently been politically enfranchised. She has more nearly the pioneer spirit which has distinguished our own American women than the sex-conscious feeling of the English Suffragette.

The fears that women would be dominated by priestly influences have proved entirely groundless in New Zealand. There is absolutely no evidence that such is the fact. In New South Wales and Queensland a certain division along sectional lines was noticed, but nothing which was evidence of interference by the Church. Roman Catholics in certain districts of Sydney, for instance, will return no candidates but Roman Catholics, and

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State aid for parochial schools is a part of their platform, but they are none the less independent voters and free of undue influence from their spiritual advisers. Political managers were merely wise enough to work along the line of least resistance and to put before working class electorates, largely composed of Roman Catholics, candidates of the same Church and class. To be sure, the Roman Catholic Church was wise enough also not to lose its followers by opposing their political views. The Cardinal in Sydney took pains to assure the faithful that the famous encyclical of the late Pope against Socialism was directed against such "Anarchists" as his Holiness was familiar with in Europe, and had no bearing upon the Socialistic tendencies of the labor movement in Australasia. And the Protestant churches, whose membership in Australia outnumbers the Romanists by more than three to one, and in New Zealand by almost six to one, to a less degree than the Catholics, even, showed any interest in the questions about which the voters were most concerned.

That she does not carefully study measures and weigh men's motives, that she does not always cast her ballot with deliberation, freed of prejudice and uninfluenced by her family, the New Zealand woman must plead guilty to, if men without guilt in these respects choose to cast stones at her for this. But that she refrains from using the ballot in New Zealand, now that she has it, the records fully disprove.

In 1893, the first year when women voted at a general election, 78 per cent of the adult female population registered as electors, and of these over 85 per cent voted. By 1905 the proportion of registered electors had gradually increased to 212,876 women, or to nearly 94 per cent of the adult women of the Dominion. Of these 175,046, or 82 per cent, voted. The figures for the men are almost identical—96½ per cent registered, and of these 84 per cent voted.

Australian election returns, both Federal and State, give results much less creditable to women as voters, but, as a study of the following tables will show, the men do not in this respect set the women a very praiseworthy example:

AUSTRALIAN STATE ELECTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF THE LOWER HOUSE

State.	Date of election at which women first voted.	Electors qualified to vote.		Votes recorded.		Per cent of electors voting.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female
New South Wales	1904	304,396	262,433	226,057	174,538	74.26	66.51
Queensland	1907	125,140	95,049			73.42	68.64
South Australia	1896	77,972	59,044	51,668	39,355	66.12	66.65
Western Australia	1901	67,967	14,775	29,832	8,255	44	56
Tasmania	1906	37,120	33,415	23,128	17,194	62.30	51.46
Commonwealth						64.03	61.85

In Commonwealth elections Australian voters, male and female, show a marked apathy, the men, however, retaining about the same advantage over the women in percentage of votes cast to enrollments as in State elections. Figures from the Federal elections of December 16, 1903, and December 12, 1906, are here tabulated, those for the House of Representatives being omitted, as they vary but slightly from the results here shown of the voting for Commonwealth Senators:

PERCENTAGE OF VOTERS TO ELECTORS ENROLLED

		Males.	Females.
New South Wales	1903	52.70	41.16
	1906	58.57	43.90
Victoria	1903	56.89	45.63
	1906	62.30	51.14
Queensland	1903	62.49	44.94
	1906	53.03	37.14
South Australia	1903	41.58	23.28
	1906	44.45	28.43
Western Australia	1903	35.96	14.86
	1906	40.67	28.74
Tasmania	1903	54.53	34.30
	1906	61.65	45.95
Commonwealth	1903	53.09	39.96
	1906	56.38	43.30

Still another test may be applied—the referendum held on July 31, 1900, on the question of federation. Again is seen a wide lack of interest in matters of public importance—common to both men and women:

COMMONWEALTH REFERENDUM

	Per cent of votes recorded to total number of persons, male and female, qualified to vote.
New South Wales	63.39
Victoria	56.29
Tasmania	36.48
South Australia	54.44
Queensland	64.78
Western Australia	67.13

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It will be noted that, although the percentage of enrolled females voting in the Australian States at State elections is noticeably lower than the percentage of qualified males so voting, the women of all the States except Tasmania show a much keener interest in State elections than do the men in Federal elections. But the suffrage is a new privilege of citizenship to the women of all but one of the Australian States, gained without much effort on their part. It may not yet be concluded how far they are likely in the future to evince an appreciation of their enfranchisement.

The upshot of the whole matter appears to be that in New Zealand the votes which women have had for sixteen years have changed the current of political thought as little as they have made any actual difference as yet in woman's economic and mental dependence upon man. In the Australian States, where there are found nearly all of the types of liberal legislation enacted in New Zealand, women have but recently been enfranchised, as a clear result of a progressive movement for which they can in no way be held responsible. And in Australia, as in New Zealand, women take the responsibilities of citizenship just as mere men do, show no more interest and no less in political questions than they, and cast the privileged ballot with all the male elector's usual lack of forethought and occasional studied conviction.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN HUNGARY

BY EDWARD A. STEINER

TEN o'clock in the morning was the one tense hour of the day, for the omnibus was due to arrive, and with it everything which connected our town with the outside world. "Our town," it may be added, is a place of about two thousand inhabitants in the valley of the Waag, half-way between Vienna and Budapest, in which Slavs, Magyars, Jews, and Germans live together as peacefully as they do anywhere in that conglomerate of races and nationalities called the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Although most of the villagers expected neither letters nor friends, every one who had even a moment of leisure stepped to his front door when the omnibus came, and tried to catch a glimpse of the sleepy passengers who had spent a torturing night in the somber, springless vehicle. In front of the Black Eagle Inn congregated town loafers, children, and the aged, who alone had leisure to watch the passengers alight.

This was an exciting procedure, for the omnibus was high, and its one window served also as the exit, so that the passengers' feet protruded through the small opening first, the bodies being drawn carefully after. It was a mirth-provoking performance, and, as laughter was an indulgence not often experienced in our sober environment, all who could afford the leisure and the laughter awaited the daily diversion at the Black Eagle Inn.

On a certain Sabbath morning I had absented myself from the synagogue. It was a May day of rare beauty, with a warm, wooing, gentle wind, calling the boy in me back to the creek, the willow trees, the goslings, and the Gentile boys and girls. While nature with its willows and its goslings had no objection to my "cutting" the synagogue service, the Gentile and ungenteel children objected seriously, and I was driven back to the dusty street, with its cobblestone pavement. There was nothing to do except go to the synagogue or join the crowd of loafers around the Black Eagle Inn, and I chose the latter, although at great peril; for to be caught loafing on the Sabbath, during the hours of morning service, was sure to bring dire consequences. The clatter of hoofs and rattle of wheels were already heard, proceeding from a cloud of dust which came nearer and nearer as the omnibus swayed into sight. Its emaci-

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ated, weary horses responded to the whip of the driver as they made one last, brave effort at a gallop, then stopped at their accustomed place, steaming from heat, and too weary even to whisk the gathering flies from their backs.

"How many passengers have you?" some one called to the driver.

"Three-quarters of a man," he replied, laughing coarsely.

The crowd stood for a moment speechless, as the leather curtain was thrown back and a wooden leg appeared; then, carefully feeling for the foot-rest, came a real leg and foot. In due time the back followed, covered by a dusty blue coat, and the man stood before us—three-quarters of a man indeed; for above the wooden leg hung an empty coat sleeve.

From the depths of the vehicle the driver drew a brass-bound trunk. It was a strange-looking, gorgeous affair, and made almost as great a sensation among the astonished onlookers as the three-quarters of a man in the blue suit and brass buttons had made. A queer-looking soft hat shaded his bearded face, in which I intuitively detected faint traces of our common racial ancestry. He swung his cane at the gaping crowd, and called out in military language, "Right about, face! March!" The crowd obeyed mechanically, and he hobbled unmolested into the inn. I followed him for two reasons. First, the synagogue service was just over, and I was sure to be discovered in this forbidden spot. Second, this was a new species of humanity to me, as new as the sewing-machine which had come to our house about a week before, and as wonderful as the coal-oil lamp, the marvelous light of which now illuminated our home for the first time. Strange to say, all these had come from America during the last fortnight.

"Why are you looking at me, youngster?" the man asked, shaking his empty sleeve at me. "Have you never seen three-quarters of a man before? What's your name?"

While he waited for my reply, he took a pull at his bottle of *palenka*, the common drink of the peasants. When he heard my name, he stared at me less fiercely.

"Come here," he said, patting my curly head. "I am a Jew myself."

"You are not; you cannot be! No Jew ever drinks *palenka*."

"Boy," he replied, pushing aside the empty bottle, "I am three-quarters of a man, but not even one-quarter a Jew. I have been to war, where I lost my arm and leg, and I have been in America, where I lost my Judaism." Then, with an air of abandonment, he ordered a pork roast for his dinner.

I was grievously shocked, and to save even the remnant of a Jew in him I suggested that he go home with me and eat a good *kosher* Sabbath dinner. Hospitality is a virtue of the Jewish home, and there was scarcely a Sabbath meal without some unfortunate at our table. I felt sure that mother would not object to this guest, especially if I made it clear to her that I had saved the man from eating pork roast.

I remember most vividly my going home with this Jewish soldier, and the pride I felt in walking beside a man who had come from America. Doors and windows were opened, while black-eyed maidens and gray-haired matrons craned their necks to get a glimpse of the stranger. All that blessed Sabbath our house was the center of attraction, and hundreds of inquiries had to be answered.

"Who was he?" An old townsman who, years ago, ran away from home, and after many adventures landed in America. He enlisted in the Federal army, was discharged, pensioned, and had come home to die.

"Aye! aye!" the townspeople said. "Who would have thought that one of us should come from America!"

That same day the brass-bound trunk was brought to our house, for mother took pity on the homeless man and told him to stay with us. She hoped to keep him from drinking *palenka* and eating pork. The latter was not difficult, but the *palenka*—that was impossible.

"The brass-bound trunk no doubt holds his treasures," the neighbors said. Treasures indeed! His discharge from the army, which was framed and hung over his bed, a second suit of blue, a huge flag—the Stars and Stripes—a history of the Civil War in German, a book called "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the picture of a sad-faced man.

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Every day I heard about the land of freedom from one who had been there, the German book I soon knew by heart, the flag I learned to love, and Abraham Lincoln, the sad-faced man, took the place of our patriarch Abraham in my heart and imagination.

"How is it," I asked the old soldier, "that this man, who was a Christian, was called Abraham?"

"My boy," he said, "he was a Christian; but he was as good a Jew as the patriarch Abraham. The great lawgiver, Moses, led his own people out of bondage; this man led a strange, African race out of slavery." Then he read and translated to me "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and I have never forgotten a single incident in that vivid story. So thoroughly was I imbued by its spirit that I gathered a group of boys to whom I preached my first revolutionary sermon. I pictured to them the sufferings of our poor and the harshness of our Government as typified by the vicious judge and the cruel and venal police. I tried to exact an oath from the boys to help me free these peasant slaves and, if necessary, fight the judge and the police.

Fortunately for the Government, my classmates would not enthuse; instead, they told the teacher, who tried to whip my revolutionary ideas out of me, and when I reached home, almost too sore to walk, I found great comfort in looking into the sad face of Abraham Lincoln, my patron saint and the inspirer of my passion for the common people.

"Uncle Joe," as the old soldier wished to be called, drank *palenka* heavily and almost constantly; the three-quarters of a man wasted away until he was scarcely half a man, and we knew and he knew that the end was not far away. I was in his room one Saturday afternoon; my mother sat beside him holding his thin, bony hand, and he was quite sober, as I believe he had not often been since coming to us.

"You think I am a bad man," he said to my mother. "I drink, I smoke on the Sabbath, I do not lay the phylacteries. I am a bad man; but I have fought, I have suffered cold and hunger, and I have fallen into bad habits.

"I think God will forgive me. I know he will if he is anything like Abraham Lincoln. He forgave me once. I was about to be shot," he whispered hoarsely. "He forgave me, and when I come before Jehovah I shall call for Abraham Lincoln. He spoke a good word for me once—he will do it again."

The old soldier looked around the room, and his glance rested appealingly on the face of the sad-eyed man who had borne the sufferings and agonies of many men.

"Give that picture to the boy who brought me to you; let him have the book also. The flag you must wrap me in; let it be my shroud. My discharge I want buried with me, and let them fire a salute over my grave; for it will be a soldier's grave."

Coming home the next day at noon, I heard the pious men of our community repeating verses spoken at the bedside of the dying. It was a weird lamentation that went up from those hoarse-throated men, and in the tumult of voices affirming faith in the God of Israel, "Uncle Joe's" soul took its flight.

To induce the pious men, whose consent was necessary, to wrap his body in the Stars and Stripes was difficult, but was finally accomplished through my mother's importunity. The firing of the salute was out of the question, for no Jew owned a gun, and it would be sacrilege to hire a Gentile to use one.

The solemn procession came to the cemetery with its burden, and they buried him after the manner of the Jews. But hardly had the last man left the grave when three shots were fired, startling young and old alike.

Istvan, the Hungarian shepherd, once a soldier himself, had yielded to my entreaties and had paid this last tribute to a warrior.

Istvan was fined and imprisoned for shooting within the limits of the cemetery; I, too, was punished, and the common suffering created fellowship between us. Over and over again, while he was watching his sheep, I told him the story of the life and death of Abraham Lincoln.

"Too bad," he would say, "that he had a Jewish name. Too bad that his name was Abraham."

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THE DUTIES OF A CHINESE STUDENT

BY IN-YOUNG

FOREIGN-EDUCATED students in former days were slighted and looked down upon in China. They were considered almost barbarous and as traitors. In case of necessity, when their services were needed, they were employed principally as tools—as translators and interpreters. They were not trusted with responsible functions, nor appointed to important posts in the Government service. It is a well-known fact that upon the return of a number of students to China many of them were put into jail. Even upon the first return of Minister Wu, the then Viceroy, Li-Hung-Chang was greatly surprised that the former could still use his chop-sticks as dexterously as any other Chinese in spite of the fact that he had been Americanized.

Times have changed, and the conditions are at present different. Western knowledge and service are eagerly sought after now. What was despised before is now appreciated. Schools and colleges for Western sciences are established everywhere in China. Students are sent abroad in large numbers, hence we are here. With all these favors, we should do our duty far more faithfully than our predecessors.

I am afraid many of us left China with just one sole purpose in mind—to study books and disregard the other equipments of life which make us stronger and broader-minded citizens. Our race is by nature one of scholars, devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, and if any complaint can be made of a Chinese student, in general, it is that he studies too hard, to the neglect of his health and the exclusion of beneficial and innocent enjoyments. But let us not forget, however, that a college is a place of society and religion as well as learning. Too many of us, I am afraid, do not appreciate that college is also a place of society. We come to this country to acquire knowledge, and think that to acquire the same means only the memorizing of text-books and the accumulation of marks at examination time. Western learning is not all confined to books, and I plead that you do not deceive yourself into believing that because you have studied the text-books, passed your examinations, and received your diploma, you have done your duty. Far from it; book-learning is only part of your education. I despise a "bookworm," so to speak, because of his one-sided education. Remember that we can learn things out of as well as in recitation rooms, during vacation time as well as in the college year. The hours, days, even months, that we spend in traveling, in meeting American friends, in seeing new places and going through new experiences, in reading newspapers, magazines, and other literature, are strictly in the line of our studies. The hours we spend in churches and theaters are not at all wasted, but, on the contrary, add much to our knowledge of the way the people in the West live and act. There is much in every phase of American life that could be assimilated and adopted by our nation advantageously, and it is our duty to study it as intensely as we do our books. It is our duty to analyze the principles that underlie American society, and note the orderly and systematic manner in which business is done and duties are discharged; it is our duty to study the social conditions of our own people in this country.

The Chinese students' magazine of the Eastern Alliance has called the attention of the Chinese student body to the social life of our people in the so-called "Chinatowns" in large cities. It is needless for me to say that they are the standing rebukes to our nation in America. Do you ever realize the fact that the whole

[1] An address by In-Young, a member of the class of 1910, Lehigh University, Department of Mining Engineering, at the meeting of the Chinese Society of Lehigh University, December 16, 1909. Mr. In-Young is a graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale of the year 1908, when he received the degree of Ph.B. on graduation. He entered the School of Mines of Lehigh University in September, 1908, in the junior class, being received in advanced standing on account of his Yale degree, and he expects to graduate in that school next June, taking the degree of Engineer of Mines. At Lehigh University there are a number of student societies represented by the students from different localities, and this year the Chinese delegation formed the Chinese Society, of which Mr. In-Young is president, and this address was delivered by him at the regular meeting of the society held December 16, 1909.

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Chinese population in the United States, excluding students, comes from a place in China not larger than the State of Connecticut? And yet we allow the American republic to think that the working class of Chinese here is a fair representative of four hundred millions of our people. Have we done our duty to correct this unfortunate impression of the American Republic? If not, why not? It is our duty, as students, to suggest and find remedies to correct this wrong impression of the American people. Perhaps you will ask me how this can be done? This problem is, indeed, a difficult and perplexing one. Let us think a while if there is a solution to this problem.

Up to this time our people have secluded themselves in particular sections of large cities. This is not without cause. Many of them have lived in this country for years, and they stay as long as they can in order to earn enough money to live comfortably for the rest of their days after their return to China, because when their feet are once off American soil they have breathed the last of American air. On this account many of them work day and night by doing laundry work and various other jobs, in order to hoard a comfortable sum to take with them to China. You may ask me, Why don't the Chinese spread out as people of other nations do and mingle with the white people, and why don't they seek work elsewhere, instead of secluding themselves in colonies? But what encouragement have the American people given to them? Where can they find work elsewhere than to carry on business among themselves? In factories? No. In railroad companies? No. Some time ago, one of our students who graduated from a textile school wanted to acquire some practical knowledge in his profession, and applied for a position in one of the mills in Philadelphia, but the superintendent turned to him and said, "My friend, I would take you in without a moment's hesitation if the labor union would not threaten to shut down my factory because of my employing an Oriental in my mill." Absolutely no encouragement has been given to our people to become citizens. Indeed, even the best-educated Chinese of to-day, regardless of the length of time he has been here, cannot become a citizen. No charitable institutions have been established to help the unfortunate ones. You hear and read of American organizations raising funds to help the unemployed Italians and Hungarians, etc., and to build charitable institutions for the crippled, but no such organizations have been established for our people, outside of the few missionary workers who have attempted to teach the people Christianity, sometimes by dogmatic means, the results of which in some instances have been rather harmful than good. The municipal governments have followed the *laissez faire* policy. Very little attempt has been made to correct the evils existing in Chinese quarters, except when occasion demands. Of the five thousand or more in New York City, hundreds are unemployed. The lower classes of other races, the unemployed of the white race, flock there, because of the non-interference by police forces when crimes have been committed. As a result, we have the cosmopolitan of the slum. People from other parts of the country upon their arrival in New York are magnetized by the advertisements of the sightseeing automobile agents, portraying exaggerated scenes which are supposed to be in existence in "Chinatown," and when these newcomers have been transported to this curious spot, they see things from the outside and form an opinion that all Chinese are in the same condition, irrespective of classes. My friends, there is a social problem for us to solve. It does not come from books, but it is our duty to help to better the condition of our people. As messengers of China's good will and friendly feeling toward the world, we must struggle to remove every trace of misunderstanding existing between our people and the people of the West, and by our amicable words and good conduct seek to establish an enviable reputation for China among her sister nations.

Thus far I have not offered any solution to this problem, but I believe that, with the help of the different municipal governments and the co-operation of the representatives of China, it is possible to enforce stricter sanitary laws and to help to scatter the unemployed by helping them to find suitable work, and that thus great improvements can be made.

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As students it is our duty to ask ourselves questions concerning the relation between the government and the governed, the employer and the employee. Is the American home nearer the ideal than ours? The high sense of honor and manly courage possessed by the American people excites our admiration. The polite attention and chivalrous conduct to the fair sex are worthy of our consideration. Such and similar questions we should pay particular attention to while we are in America. There is much to approve and much to condemn in the social conditions of the American Republic; but our duty is to carry back with us to China the principles which are most beneficial to our people.

But let us not forget that college is also a place of religion. As engineering students we have been trained to look at the material side of life too much. I regret to say that this is true just as much, if not more, as regards American students as it is with Chinese students. Let us remember, however, that the material, political, and social development of the West has progressed side by side with its ethical and religious men and educators, and that the ideals of these men of liberty, of concord, of peace, of charity, and of justice have been founded upon religious beliefs and convictions. We have not performed our duty if we are working for our own personal interests without the guidance of moral and religious principles and without the consideration of our fellow-men.

Our Government has promised the people a constitution and a Parliament. As citizens of China we shall have our share in politics. Our spare time can be utilized well in studying the leading political questions of the day while we are in college, so that we may equip ourselves with the requisite knowledge for the future. Our home, our property, and our income will be indirectly affected by the particular political system which we choose to follow. It is our duty to create clean politics and to become intelligent citizens, and in order to accomplish these things we should study the pros and cons of political questions at issue. We should awaken among our fellow-countrymen a deep interest in the affairs of the nation, quicken their social understanding, and arouse in them a sound sense of individual responsibility toward our country.

The question of physical exercise has always been one of unusual interest to me. Ten years ago, recreation, such as running, playing ball, and taking part in any athletic sports, was considered ungentlemanly by our scholars and officials. As a result, many bright men were compelled to retire from office or to drop out from their college courses on account of ill health. We cannot carry the heavy burden which will soon be ours without having a strong physical foundation beneath us. Perhaps there is an excuse for some of our students neglecting to preserve their health. We are not only doing the same tasks as our fellow American students, but, in addition, we must do them through the medium of a tongue not ours, which some of us have used only a couple of years. Under these conditions, it would not be surprising if exercise were overlooked and too much time were spent in intellectual pursuits to the detriment of health. But we should spend part of our time in physical exercise, even at the cost of not knowing our lessons. The price which we have to pay for our neglect will be too great for us to bear. Of what use would our knowledge be to us and of what use would our wealth be to us if we have not the health to enjoy them? I would rather be a poor man enjoying good health than to be a millionaire and have a physician prescribe my meals for me. We cannot perform our duties unless we have sound health. A sound body and a sound mind go together.

I am glad that our officials have come to realize the great necessity of physical exercise. Drills and gymnastics are required in many of the provincial schools. Prizes have been offered for the different athletic contests. Minister Wu and his Excellency Tong have contributed sums for the purpose of encouraging the Chinese students to take some active part in athletics.

China is no longer at the parting of the ways. The old beliefs and safeguards of society have been battered down and new ones founded on science, intelligence, and reason have taken their place. It is our duty to see to it that the moral advancement of our Empire keeps pace with its

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intellectua. and material growth. Set up a new standard in private and public morality. The general cry is for reforms, and for good, honest, and competent men to carry out these reforms. We are here to equip ourselves to supply needs. Upon our return to our native land, our life work shall be to help to reform China. Let this inspiring motive for our coming to this far-distant land, at great expense, and away from those nearest and dearest to us, be more than a prospective official rank upon our return; something more than a lucrative position, something more than a professional career; but above all it should be the earnest desire on our part to do our best to contribute to the advancement of our vast country so that she may, in course of time, be able to take the place among the nations which nature, in giving her the land, with great natural resources, and the enormous population that she has, has ordained for her.

The brilliant success of Japan dazzled the eyes of the world. The flag of the Rising Sun is respected at every corner of the earth. The little empire has taken a place among the foremost nations. What has made the Japan of to-day? It is the faithful discharge of duties by her students. The hardships and privations which the late Marquis Ito suffered while he was a student in England will open the eyes of many of us as to what self-sacrifice for one's country and patriotism means. I have great faith in my fellow-students, because, as one of the German professors of Martin Luther's time said, when he was asked why he was in the habit of doffing his academic cap in coming to his lectures, contrary to the custom of the day, "I see in them the future lawyers, doctors, counselors, and rulers of the Empire." We will be men of influence in China's bright future. As champions of the new learning and advocates of reform, we must undertake to transport to our country Western thought and ideals and introduce modern sciences and scientific appliances. The task before us is by no means easy. To reform China means to shape the destiny of a quarter of the living souls of the world and to transform the appearance of one-twelfth of the earth's arable surface.

But before we can be relied upon to discharge our duty, there is one thing which all must have—our success or our failure in life depends upon it—and that is character. Whether our moral character is based upon sound principles, or whether it is easily shaken, fixes our destiny. One of the prominent business men of New York City told one of the college presidents of the East to teach the young men less about books but more of character, and, judging from the failures of so many college men, the statement of this man can be well supported. Many of us leave our parents or guardians and the benign influences of home at a time when our character is being formed, and when a high standard of truth and morality is vitally important. If, at this critical time, we have not sound principles to which to hold fast, whether they be Christian or Confucian—for they both point towards the same good, *i. e.*, virtue—we are likely to go astray. On this account we should be careful as regards the temptations during our college career, and not imitate the unconventional manners of some of our fellow-students. Moral worth commands respect whether among civilized or barbarous people. It is a good asset; combine ability with it, and our success in life will be assured. On the other hand, we cannot consider ourselves as having done our duty in uplifting China unless our work in college has been supplemented with all that goes to make us citizens of high-minded character. In whatever sphere of life or in whatever position we may be placed, let us discharge our duties faithfully and efficiently; have reliance in honesty of purpose, diligence of application, and common sense; be able to stand just criticism and to profit by it and not to care for unjust criticism, so that we may bring credit not only to our country but also to our Alma Mater.

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THE NEW BOOKS

"The Winning of Immortality," by Frederic Palmer, treats immortality, not as a gift to all men in creation, but as an endowment to be won by character. It is to be classed with the books on so-called "conditional immortality"—that is, immortality conditional on possessing a character worthy of being immortal. It is free from the literalism and the dogmatism which impair some books which advocate the same general faith. It recognizes the mystery in which the whole subject of a future life is necessarily involved. And the author does not assume to prescribe in detail the conditions as though he had been appointed to prepare the examination papers for entrance on a future state. On the other hand, his doctrine, that immortality is an endowment to be won, rids us of that nightmare of eternal sin and suffering which has done so much to make faith in a future repellent alike to the reason and to humane sentiments. It is well worth careful reading by those who desire to be able to give a reason for the hope that is in them. (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.)

"Mary E. Stearns," by Milicent Todd, is a portrait-biography which we believe can be obtained only by writing to the author at Amherst, Massachusetts. We are sorry that it was not given to a wider public through a publisher. In many ways Mrs. Stearns was a remarkable woman. Her letters from India give a vivid description of life in that fascinating country. Her wifehood affords a fine illustration of what a wife can be to the world through her home. Her widowhood affords a splendid inspiration to quiet, unpretentious, unassuming courage. And her whole life shows, as only deeds can show, that the true woman, in whatever place in life she may be put, does not lack the opportunity for a great service if she has the needful qualities of heart and mind. (Printed for the Author at Riverside Press, Cambridge. $1.75.)

An English translation of Count Okuma's "Fifty Years of New Japan" now appears. It forms perhaps the most authoritative source of information yet published on Japanese development during the half-century (1854–1904) since the ratification of Japan's first treaties with the outside world. His country's development, so Count Okuma believes, has been the result of foreign intercourse. The Japanese should cultivate such intercourse more closely than ever, he declares, and should adopt its superior features. That Japan is cultivating foreign intercourse is quite evident from the dedication of the English edition of the present work to the late King of England, "whose influence with Japan has been most widespread and salutary." While some Englishmen question the net benefit of the Anglo-Japanese alliance to Great Britain, its benefit to Japan has been more evident. But has not America's connection with Japan also been beneficial? Yes, in most respects. Yet, as with China, so with Japan, we have had trouble with the problem of Oriental immigration. Referring to this, Count Okuma justly says:

> I do not in any way sympathize with the idea that by sending abroad emigants who become a cause of domestic trouble in the country of their destination, the rights or honor of a great and civilized Power, such as ours claims to be, will be served. But I contend that, when a treaty Power seeks to enact a law restricting the immigration of our laborers, the terms of such restriction should be analogous, and even identical, with those applicable to the peoples of other great Powers.

Another problem has been the Manchurian. In a recent interview we note that Count Okuma would have Japan occupy Manchuria. Here foreign influence evidently is *not* welcome. The present work is not as exhaustive as might be expected. In connection with Japanese-American relations one vainly searches the index for such important names as those of Count Komura, Viscount Kaneko, John Hay, and Elihu Root. The index is inadequate, for Viscount Kaneko's name is mentioned in the text, and the book contains Count Komura's important speech of a year ago on Japan's foreign policy. Count Okuma's direct contributions comprise but a very small part of the two volumes. His editorship extends over a much larger part. The fifty-six chapters have been contributed by almost as many authorities, each chapter presumably written independently of the other and with surprisingly little of the overlapping one might expect. For instance, the late Prince Ito contributed the chapter on the Constitution; Prince Yamagata writes about the army; Admiral Yamamoto about the navy; ex-Prime Minister Saionji about education; Baron Tsudzuki about intercourse with foreigners; Mayor Ozaki, of Tokyo, about municipal progress; Viscount Inouye about railways; and Baron Shibusawa, who recently visited America, about banking. Properly to understand present-day Japan one must understand not only the past fifty years but also the twenty-five hundred years of her history. Hence the first chapter, written by Count Okuma, summarizes that history, and the next, also written by him, gives special attention to the Emperor's powers. We are then taken along step by step through Japan's introduction to the comity of nations, through the history of the making of her Constitution and the development of her legal institutions, to those evidences of progress shown in her local governments, municipalities, police, prisons, finance, land and water connections, industries, agriculture, mining, colonial enterprises, trade, education, culture, journalism, literature, philanthropy, science, art, society,

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and religion. The work is thus truly monumental. In his summing up Count Okuma points out the results of the new civilization on old social characteristics, on the lessening of the distinction between classes, and on the corresponding advance of the people. The author's widespread experience and varied proclivities give to his exposition a certain atmosphere which makes us realize his distinction as the leader of the Japanese progressives and as the honored founder and promoter of Waseda University. Yet his detractors have called Count Okuma a demagogue, a man who uses bombastic language, professedly to advance democracy, while at heart he is an aristocrat and plutocrat. It is difficult to believe this as we read that statesman's unsparing pointing out of national defects, such as the lack of legal ideas in Japan, an indifference to manhood rights, defective education, and a low commercial morality. Of course he could not end here. As in the initial chapter he sets forth the strong points of Japanese history, so at the close of the last chapter he proudly cites the strong points of Japanese character—stability of race, adaptability, readiness to learn, consciousness of real greatness, and, in particular, a national aspiration towards a seemingly heaven-appointed mission, namely, to introduce Occidental civilization to the Orient. Representing Oriental civilization, the Japanese have now assimilated much of the Occidental. As is no other nation, Japan is thus entitled to represent Oriental civilization to the Occident and Occidental civilization to the Orient. On Japan, therefore, devolves the mission of harmonizing the politics of East and West, and of leading the world, as a whole, to a higher plane. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $7.50.)

In the "Diary of a Daly Débutante" the high spirits and extreme innocence of the anonymous writer may have been characteristic of the "early eighties," when the diary was written, but they make the same impression that so many reminiscences of childhood do; the sophistication of maturity casts a bloom over the record. There is much to enjoy in the book, and the view of the stage under Augustin Daly's management is most interesting. The young girl who keeps her journal is full of naïve comment, and her enthusiasm over her small parts is really contagious. The stage of "the eighties" must have been, besides a place to do hard work, a scene of almost idyllic good humor and perfect propriety. (Duffield & Co., New York. $1.25.)

"The Royal Americans," by Mary Hallock Foote, is a carefully written, dignified piece of fiction founded upon our history before the Revolution and covering a part of that time. English and Dutch, Tories and Patriots, pass across the stage, producing real impressions, and with the skillfully painted background stand out as individuals. Catherine and Charlotte are at the center of all movement. Their attendant relatives and lovers fill the picture. The story is one that will not attract great attention, because it is not sensational, but it will command respect for its truth and good workmanship. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.)

In Alice Brown's group of stories called "Country Neighbors" there are a delicacy of touch and a high appreciation of the reality of ideals that warm a reader's heart. Instead of offering the crude popular solution of the difficulties presented in "The Playhouse," for instance, we are allowed to believe in the purity and unquestioning obedience to higher laws that are too frequently regarded as almost extinct in modern society. Notwithstanding the problem novels, we adhere to our faith in old-fashioned American ideals. Miss Alice Brown is an artist in her portrayal of these lovely conditions. She has insight and humor, and the traditions of New England story-telling are safe in her hands. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.20.)

There is much that is charming and original in "The Education of Uncle Paul," a semi-fairy tale by Algernon Blackwood. Uncle Paul returns, after many years spent in vast American forests, to his boyhood home in England. His free life has unfitted him for conventionalities, but the lack he feels is not shown in the ordinary way. With his nephews and nieces he establishes an intimate comradeship, and is admitted to their wonder world of youth, where, in spite of his years, he is at home. The touch of pathos and the tacked-on moral do not improve the pretty story, but, it is true, they do not spoil it. It is filled with poetic fancy and a sweet, childlike sentiment quite unusual in stories of the day. (Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Elinor Macartney Lane offers us a dainty bit of a love story to while away a half-hour. Quaint impertinence enlivens the pages, and sufficient difficulty besets the lover to make him serious at last. "The Apple-Tree Cottage" is an ideal setting for the sunshiny sketch. (Harper & Brothers, New York. 50c.)

People in these days think overmuch about their own health and too little about heathful conditions. That is one reason why there is so much "nervous prostration" and so little real advance in preventing preventable disease. Less thinking and more real knowledge would injure some of our physiological religious cults, but would contribute toward the spread of health. There is much that everybody should know about disease and sanitation, and there is much that everybody should know about how limited is the range of knowledge on which any one individual not an expert should act. There are four books worth mentioning that will help to give this sort of knowledge. One is "Life's Day," by Dr. William Seaman

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Bainbridge (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, $1.35). It is, as the author says, a series of guide-posts as to the sensible way to health. Another, very readable, is "Preventable Diseases" (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, $1.50), by Dr. Woods-Hutchinson. A third is called "A Primer of Sanitation" (World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y., 50c.), by John W. Ritchie. It is, as its name implies, an elementary book adapted for use in schools. With these should be mentioned three other books: "Civics and Health," by Dr. W. H. Allen (Ginn & Co., Boston, $1.25); "Medical Sociology" (D. Appleton & Co., New York, $2), by Dr. J. P. Warbasse; and "Rural Hygiene" (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, $1.25), by Dr. I. W. Brewer. These three relate less to the individual's conduct regarding his own health than to the conduct of the community toward the public health. In this matter of health, however, one thing needs to be remembered: that no book for either the individual or the community can take the place of the direction of the medical expert.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

MR. KNOX AND MANCHURIA

I have read with much interest the article entitled "The Policy of Secretary Knox," printed in The Outlook of February 12, 1910. I find in that article, however, a statement to which, as a student of international politics, I would like, with your leave, to take an exception.

With reference to the secret protocol to the Peking Treaty of December 22, 1905, in which China agrees, for the purpose of protecting the interests of the South Manchurian Railway, not to construct any parallel line to that railway, or any branch line that might be injurious to it, the writer of the article says: "As this secret agreement was obtained under duress, and as it contradicts the Treaty of Portsmouth, signed by Russia and Japan, which pledges both nations not to place any obstacle in the way of measures for commercial development in Manchuria which apply equally to all nations, it cannot be regarded as binding."

The later agreement between China and Japan in a sense apparently contradicts the provision of the Portsmouth Treaty cited above, but if there be any contradiction between them, the proper and usual course would be to interpret the earlier agreement in the light and under the limitations of the later one. The limitations which Japan secured at Peking are essential for the protection of her railway rights acquired at such tremendous sacrifices. The same protection is also enjoyed by Russia with regard to her railways in Manchuria.

Scarcely less tenable is the contention that the secret agreement was obtained under duress. If this plea be valid, the same would hold good in the case of the majority of treaties and conventions upon which the cumbrous fabric of international relations rests. It would certainly apply to those in virtue of which the United States holds the Philippines and controls Cuba.

Whatever irresponsible writers may say, the United States Government unquestionably recognizes the validity of the secret protocol concerning the protection of Japanese railway interests in Manchuria. This protocol was communicated to the United States Government through its diplomatic representative at Tokyo about the middle of February, 1906, and no word of adverse comment, much less a protest, has been heard from Washington. M. ZUMOTO.

[By the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905 Japan and Russia pledged themselves "not to place any obstacle in the way of general measures which apply equally to all nations, and which China might adopt for the development of commerce and industry in Manchuria." Later, in 1905, Japan and Russia signed a treaty at Peking. A secret protocol to it by which China agreed not to build in the neighborhood a railway paralleling the existing Manchurian railway was, as Mr. Zumoto says, communicated to the American Government in February, 1906. There has, we think, been no disposition on our Government's part to question the validity of this agreement, nor to consider that it was not a proper provision if reasonably applied. It has only been contended by Americans that Japan could not expect, by the terms of such a protocol, to obstruct all railway development in Manchuria, regardless of its engagements in the Portsmouth Treaty. Certainly, if it were used to obstruct such development, the clause contradicts the Portsmouth Treaty. As to Mr. Zumoto's claim that, if there be any contradiction between treaties, the proper course would be to interpret the earlier agreement in the light of the later one, the claim would seem to be extraordinary that a secret clause in a treaty subsequent to the Treaty of Portsmouth was an express modification of an openly published agreement. In other words, to substitute a secret for a public undertaking requires some assurance. As to Russia, she too now brings out a secret agreement—one not entered into after, but before, the Treaty of Portsmouth—six years before. While Japan wants to interpret an earlier agreement in the light of the later one, Russia

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wants to interpret a later agreement in the light of the earlier one. The earlier one bound China in constructing her northern railways to seek Russian approval. But in the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia, as well as Japan, pledged herself not to oppose progress in Manchuria. In all questions concerning the interpretations of treaties it is, of course, difficult to give satisfactory answers *a priori*. The only satisfactory method is to see how the treaties work out in practice as the situation develops. Secretary Knox's Manchurian policy has at least accomplished one result, in that he has put Japan and Russia on record.—THE EDITORS.]

THE WEEKS BILL

In the editorial in the March 5 Outlook on the Weeks bill in Congress to establish National forests on forested watersheds, and provide funds with which to acquire lands located on the head-waters of navigable streams, you assume that "as . . . the head-waters of our Western streams are protected by existing National forests, the money to be derived from the Weeks bill, should it become law, would doubtless be spent for the first few years in the mountain watersheds of *eastern* America."

It may interest readers of The Outlook in eastern America to know that some views are entertained in *western* America (in which the present National forests are, for the most part, located) that may have an important bearing on the proposition embodied in the Weeks bill.

In speaking of National forests it will be well to remember that they are so much of the public domain withdrawn from individual entry and set aside in perpetuity as public forests. In some of the Western States they form a considerable percentage of the total area. Some of the people in States where large areas are in National forests (public domain) look upon this fact as detrimental to the respective States' interests and an encroachment upon the States' rights, and are demanding that the public land, including the National forests, be turned over to the several States in which it exists.

At a recent meeting of the Colorado Conservation Commission a large part of the discussion, which became somewhat heated, was upon the relative merits of State or Federal administration of the forest areas of the State. Linked with this question was that of Federal control of the mineral deposits, and of the water for power and other purposes in streams abutting the public domain. Among the resolutions introduced was one voicing the opinion that all the Government land in Colorado should be transferred to the State. The resolution was defeated by a vote of nine to five. One of the opponents of the resolution made the point that to adopt it would be emulating Don Quixote in fighting the windmills; that the people of the Eastern States were too jealous of what they believed was their right in the public domain to consent to its being turned over *in toto* to the people of Colorado.

The view which is held by many in the West, that the public domain should by right belong to the people of the respective States, is apparently supported by members of Congress. Press despatches from Washington state that, in connection with the discussion in the Senate of the bill authorizing the issuance of $30,000,000 worth of certificates of indebtedness for the completion of irrigation projects under way, Senator Bailey, of Texas, and Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, expressed the opinion that the public lands should be turned over to the several States.

If these views are correct, what bearing should it have on the proposition involved in the Weeks bill? LEVI CHUBBUCK.

Denver, Colorado.

[The Weeks bill has been favorably reported to the House of Representatives by its Committee on Agriculture. It should pass, because we must keep our watersheds forested, whether West or East, if for no other reason, in order to provide a proper flow for navigable streams. The head-waters of these streams should be protected by forests, which prevent floods and erosion by acting as a reservoir, holding the water back and allowing it to escape only gradually. Thanks to the timely establishment of National forests on our Federal domain, the watersheds of the West are now protected. But there is no Federal domain in the East. The States of New York and Pennsylvania, it is true, have endeavored to protect their watersheds. But other States, in which watersheds are located, cannot afford such protection. The money in respective State treasuries is not ample enough. Yet there is just as much need to protect these watersheds as to protect watersheds in the Western States. Hence, any watershed forest reserves authorized by the Weeks bill would, as The Outlook has said, probably be established "in the mountain watersheds of eastern America." Strangely enough, hostility to this programme has largely come from the very States which are themselves enjoying National forest reserves, supported by a National appropriation from National revenues. To these revenues the Eastern States contribute greatly. Moreover, a quarter of the revenue obtained from the National forests goes to the local treasuries of the States in which they are located. Adverse criticism of the Weeks bill from those States therefore seems remarkable, when one considers the general sentiment for a "square deal." As to the desire of some States' rights advocates that the States be given control of the Federal domain within their borders, the record of most of the States in conserving their natural resources would sufficiently indicate the absurdity of such a proposition.—THE EDITORS.]

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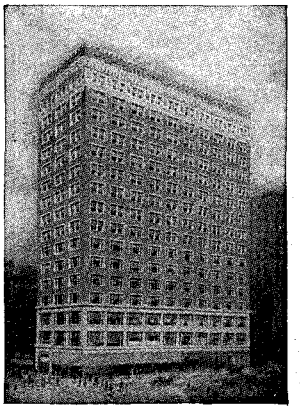

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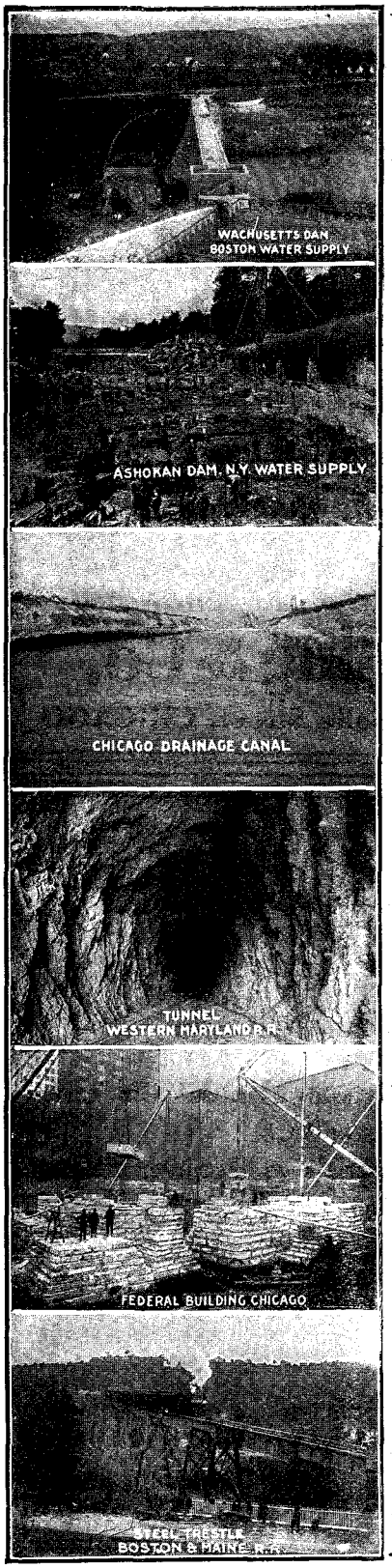

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